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ABSTRACT

This book is a study document of the directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers. This document is a result of a conference of teacher education administrators held in Chicago in July 1971. The document presents informed opinion on a variety of issues relevant to preparing education personnel. Sections of the study deal with a) the assessment of community needs and the role of educational institutions in that community, b) the fulfillment of educational responsibilities by the study committee on a noncompensatory basis, c) the need to develop and respect cultural pluralism, d) the need for further study in the area of credentially, e) the creation of formats to assure access to the teaching profession regardless of background, differences or culture, f) the definition of a positive process to upgrade teacher standards, and g) development of a management system which will create the opportunity to relate schools of education with schools of arts and science in ways which will not permit a division of responsibility. Several conclusions reached from the discussions were potentially useful. Further study will be made before the formulation of initial recommendations are made. (MJM)

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# EDUCATION FOR 1984 AND AFTER

A symposium of Deans of Education
and leaders in institutions
educating teachers

International Motor Inn
Schiller Park, Illinois
July 21 & 22, 1971

Editors
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Larry Freeman
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Sponsored by the Directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers

This book is a study document produced by the directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers for distribution to those associated with the work of the Commission. It does not represent an official position of the Study Commission.

The discussion at the Chicago meeting was edited for publication and includes articles, reviews, and essays relating to subjects discussed.

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## PREFACE

The book which follows is a Study Document of the directorate of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers. The document, which has grown out of a conference held in Chicago on July 21-22, 1971, is an effort to gather informed opinion on a variety of issues germane to the education of teachers and to educational personnel. The people who discussed at the conference are all "deans of education" or hold roughly comparable leadership roles in institutions educating teachers.

Some of the material reproduced here represents statistical information gathered in 1968 and before and is out-of-date in some cases. This is particularly true regarding the information on teacher oversupply. However, the material represents the kind of information which the Study Commission might perhaps be engaged in gathering. The section on "accountability" deals with conceptions of "accountability" and "cost benefit" which perhaps extend conventional present thinking in these areas. The section on "Power and Oppression" deals with cultural pluralism, power relationships, and separatism and integration as these relate to the education of teachers. The fifth section of the book deals with the "liberal" and the "technical" in teacher education and various models for bringing the two together which appear promising. Section VI deals with consumer interests and credentialling. Section VII deals with the intersystemic relations in teacher education--what the problems and issues are between Higher Education and the schools.

The Study Commission would appreciate responses from people who read this document--responses describing what educational leaders and members of America's communities think about the seven issues joined in this document. The Study Commission directorate will feed these responses to the full membership of the Study Commission as it endeavors to formulate recommendations as to how America's education personnel might be educated. Similar study documents will be prepared in the coming months to set forth issues as perceived by groups of students, teachers, school administrators, community people, leaders in educational experimentation, etc.

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# I. REAL EDUCATION NEEDS AND STRATEGIES FOR RESPONSE

The group challenges the myth of "teacher surplus" by pointing out serious educational needs not being met by present structures. Corrigan's article recommends specific action to eliminate dehumanization within the schools. Olson evaluates past and present efforts in teacher education and suggests strategies for creating institutions capable of responding to actual educational needs.

## I. Real Educational Needs and Strategies for Response

### A. The Roots of Reform and the Demography of Supply and Demand:

PAUL OLSON: The College of Education as an undergraduate institution and the undergraduate education of teachers generally--the liberal arts and school components too--are in a visible state of crisis. This crisis differs from the usual "attack on the educationists" crisis. The present visible issue is a manpower issue. The notion is getting abroad nationally that we have sufficient teachers, that the supply meets the demand and more than meets it, and that the fundamental problems in teacher education are now inservice problems rather than preservice ones. One can argue that the difficulties that the Colleges of Education are facing is simply a corollary of the difficulty that higher education in general is facing--an increasing incapacity, in the public view, in the eyes of both radicals and conservatives, to supply people with the sorts of skills that they seem to need to cope with the kind of society we have.

However, that difficulty is faced by all of Higher Education. Colleges of Education are in a different sort of situation. They may soon have few students to whom they can try to supply skills or few who can get jobs at all. Even if you look at education in very traditional terms, the Colleges of Education are going to have to develop a new role for themselves, simply by virtue of the logic of supply and demand. Schools of Education may be a kind of Faulknerian aristocracy on the rocks.

If we have reached the end of the line with one sort of undergraduate education--and perhaps we have not--then we have to ask what the next stage is. There are two reasons for doing this: one is that if we do not think about what the next steps are, higher education's reaction is going to be destructive, defensive, even hysterical; another good reason for thinking about what the next steps are is that there are a lot of bright people in Colleges of Education and in Liberal Arts Colleges whose talents could perhaps be released by some new sorts of formats.

It would seem to me a good time to look at undergraduate education generally, and particularly undergraduate education as it relates to the preparation of teachers. The present market situation is not going to prevail permanently (though thinking about market economies may not be the best way to initiate thinking about undergraduate education). In a sense the pressure to get out great numbers of people is off. With that pressure off, perhaps we can ask some questions about how to do a good job rather than how to do a big job.

DEAN CORRIGAN: Some value judgments need to be made about

where we start. In the last issue of the Teacher Education Journal, the executive secretary of the Association of State Colleges and Universities, points out that instead of having an oversupply, for the first time since World War II, we actually have an educational deficit that we could do something about if we were able to turn things around and begin to use the teachers we are preparing for some of the areas where we do have shortages. For instance, he points out that over half the communities in the country do not have kindergartens; pre-school education is practically nonexistent. The education of physically and emotionally handicapped kids is being neglected; there is one counsellor for every five hundred students. Over half the population over the age of twenty-five, according to a recent Harvard study, is functionally illiterate. If we start from certain premises about what constitutes an oversupply or shortage, we come out with different kinds of answers. We ought also to get some data on the need for teachers who are creative and part of new types of programs: the Parkway School; Illich's notions about the places education can occur are something to think about. What are the needs for teachers who can do a good job in those settings, who really are on the fringes, creating new kinds of environments?

Instead of facing an oversupply of teachers, we face an unwillingness on the part of the public to provide for the educational needs of the children and youth in 1971. The public is voting down budgets in unprecedented numbers. There has never been a budget situation like this. Look at New York State: upwards of seventy-five per cent of the school district bonds were voted down in Long Island.

We now have a paradoxical situation: we have numerous critics (e.g. Silberman) agreeing on what needs to be done to improve the schools; they are saying things that many people in education have been saying for years; we and the professional journalistic critics of education have finally come close together; but at the same time, the majority of the public seems to be unwilling to support massive educational changes. Were they willing, the "supply" question would be a very different one.

GEORGE DENEMARK: A recent survey in the State of Kentucky indicated that only about twenty-three per cent of the children in the State with handicaps of one sort or another--mental retardation, physical handicaps--were in any programs especially geared to meet their needs; only a small minority of the population of the kids with special educational problems have teachers and programs designed to meet those needs.

WILLIAM HICKS: Let's look at another area where there is still a shortage of teachers. In my own institution we usually have fifty to sixty recruiters coming to our campus from school districts across this country. They--particularly California--take our best students. With the advent of integration in most of the school systems in this country, there is a growing need for Black teachers to work with Black students because it appears that whites have some difficulty in relating to these kids. Thus, when you

look at the teacher supply and demand by states, there still may be a need for certain kinds of teachers.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: I am interested in this: on the one hand there is thought to be, in global terms, "an oversupply of teachers," but, on the other hand--for example, in California--there is a demand for the teacher prepared to teach multi- or biculturally or bilingually; theyare just not available. I would like to see manpower surveys which gather the kinds of statistics that break down the different teacher populations--Mexican-American, Black, Oriental, and whatever: whether they are bilingual or monolingual, etc.

PAUL ORR: We should find ways to clear up, in one way or another, all of the conflicting kinds of information we are getting about the supply of teachers. When I look at national statistics, it is quite obvious to me that, numerically, we have enough people who are being certified ( or are eligible for certification) to fill the positions. But we have a recurring problem with what I call the distribution of the teachers. For example, thirty-five per cent of the teachers in the State of Alabama are not, by state requirements, certifiable to teach. The state legislature has passed a mandatory requirement that local education agencies provide for special education and it has created 1,500 new units for special education teachers. But the total production at the undergraduate level of special education graduates for this year will be thirty five in the State of Alabama. And, hence, the state this year issued almost 1,500 emergency certificates to people who had not had any preparation to be teachers.

I think we could probably give a thousand examples of shortages of teachers. In the Southeast, for example, we have a great quantity of teachers, but we still have a tremendous shortage of teachers who can do what needs to be done: we do not have teachers who can work effectively in recently integrated schools; we do not have teachers who have the information and attitudes they need to work effectively in rural areas; and we do not have teachers who can work effectively in urban ghetto areas.

The only teachers that we really have an oversupply of are those who are qualified to teach in the traditional middle class white suburban school. One of the rough kinds of surveys that I did about six years ago in Alabama shocked me; at that time, I was teaching graduate classes. These were off-campus classes by and large, classes of teachers from schools black and white. I began getting the feeling that there were some differences between my opinionsand the opinionsof the teachers, some real differences; I had just come out of a situation in a foreign country where I had been operating a school with about 40 per cent Mexicans, 40 per cent UA's, and 20 per cent of about 30 other nationalities. I had been working with a trilingual program. As I sensed that my attitudes vis-a-vis differences in culture and related issues were different from that of my class, I did a little survey. I was shocked that Alabama teachers in their 30's and 40's had never been outside the Southeastern part of the United States. Most of them had never been in a slum area even though it was in the city

in which they lived. We overestimate the experience that teachers and teachers-to-be have had. We assume that they have been exposed to some things just because they happen to be living in a place where they could be exposed to them. Even in the white middle class suburban schools, if you measure effectiveness in some of the ways I think some would like to measure it, I am not certain that there is an oversupply of this kind of teacher.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I have been in this kind of discussion a lot recently and keep wondering why the whole issue of oversupply of teachers keeps coming up. The statement that we have an oversupply of teachers assumes the present structure, the present tenure system, the present staffing patterns. Yet the union has an upper limit of thirty-two kids in a classroom and the Boston city schools are trying to see to it that that number is not reduced. The situation is outrageous.

B. The Need for Teachers with Special Skills:

VITO PERRONE: One of the reasons for the sort of lockstep attitude which you attribute to Boston is that educators and those who control education have not come to grips with what is certainly occurring in the society at large: a move toward cultural pluralism. The schools continue to function as if the melting pot were still viable, as if they were going to continue a system that has been intact over many, many years. Consequently, the teachers we turn out are likely to be the kind of teachers Paul Orr described, prepared only for white middle class suburban America. And yet, if we accept cultural pluralism as a positive value --and I think it is--we have to deal with the kinds of concerns Alfredo Castaneda raised. There aren't very many teachers who are bilingual; there aren't very many teachers who are prepared to deal with the issues of the newly integrated school or the urban school or a variety of other schools.

What has been interesting to me about our own program (ed. note: i.e. the North Dakota New School for Behavioral Studies in Education) is that, while there is talk about oversupply, we don't have enough people coming out of our program to supply all of the places that want our teachers--that is, teachers who can develop open classrooms and who have our kind of preparation. The places include Richmond and Atlanta, schools in Florida and California, schools in almost every state in the Union. At the same time, I might add, the College of Education at our institution is having difficulty placing large numbers of their students. The point is that a shortage exists, but the shortage has to do with people who have certain specialized skills.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I agree. I have just been having a very surprising experience as we have set up a new program at Newton College, a program to train teachers to work in open education--from kindergarten through college. I left Harvard in May and started at Newton June 1, 1971. Many Harvard trained teachers cannot find jobs. Yet now at Newton, given our specialized program, we are having a different experience. The superintendents in the area come to us and say, "We will give your people intern-

ships; we will hold a couple of positions open. Let us interview them." The superintendents are doing this partly because we are saying we are going to work in a certain way with the teachers--providing education toward open education. They are also doing it because we are saying we are going to be there with the teachers as they go into the schools in a support capacity during the coming years. We are going to be there as an institution, in that classroom. The school systems are willing to buy that sort of training and support system; they are not willing to take people who are being turned out by the mills.

VITO PERRONE: As I look at the population of the teaching field in general, it is a pretty homogenous population. It is a 'mill-made group. In fact, it is primarily white; it is made up largely of women, individuals who have wanted to be teachers ever since they were in the third grade. The needs we have in American society today ought to say something to what we are about in undergraduate education, and I think the needs of American society suggest that teacher education should be encouraging a more diverse population into teaching rather than more of the same.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: I'm interested in gathering differentiated statistics about needs in education because I hold to notions that our country and our education should be pluralistic as to culture--should recognize that we are a group of cultures, not one culture. Statistics gathering, as it relates to education, has assumed a melting-pot philosophy; we have gathered undifferentiated statistics, based on some scheme for integrated, uniform educational policy. The cultural pluralistic position implies something different. I find it difficult to extricate the philosophical issue here, because how you resolve it determines what kind of statistics or what kind of analysis of need you are going to get.

PAUL ORR: I am inclined to believe that rather than trying to get some sort of sample on a nation-wide basis, we should develop targeted surveys. For example, go into an area where you assume from the conditions and the demographic make-up, that cross-cultural experience would have occurred, and see if indeed it did. I am inclined to believe that it does not happen. Again, I see some real implications in this for teacher education.

VITO PERRONE: Someone like Murray Wax could help to design a data gathering procedure that would take some rather representative systems in America--for example, some representative urban settings, middle urban kinds of settings, rural settings, and ethnic settings in various regions of the country and get at issues of need. What kinds of people have various communities been attempting to recruit, and what kinds of problems have they had? Is there a supply of teachers for the specific needs of particular communities? We have asserted intuitively that there are needs not being filled. I am not sure that intuitive notions are good enough if we are serious about planning for undergraduate education or new forms of preparation. We need a better base than that.

PAUL ORR: If we assume that we have enough teachers, we may be on the verge of making one of the most basic policy decisions that ever will have been made at the national level in teacher education. If we begin to concentrate on inservice rather than preservice education, we will do so on the assumption that we have a sufficient number of people who can be "retreaded" or retrained. Perhaps the greatest contribution which this group can make is to point out that there is some compelling evidence that a new kind of person needs to be recruited into teacher education to perform new kinds of tasks and that retraining of present teachers (teachers, say. between the ages of forty and sixty) is not likely--if my own experience is typical--to be tremendously effective or successful, particularly if one seeks to "retread" them to work with minority groups or people placed in some kind of isolation whether psychological or social or economic.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: Perhaps the emphasis on inservice, as opposed to preservice, training is an effort to prevent new reform forces from coming into the schools. Might it not indicate that the establishment wishes to hold the line against what it sees as the onslaught of intruders--newcomers into the school system? It is as though the school establishment is saying, "We have taken on a few teacher aides and have opened up the schools a bit to different types of people. But we are not really going to turn over the power structure to those folks. Let's just focus on what we have--maybe put some new make-up on--but let's not change those faces in the principal's office and in the superintendent's office."

WILLIAM HICKS: Any program funded should be funded so as to fit into the on-going program of an institution. Hopefully there will be some money made available to train the black teachers being displaced by integration. There is a program now that has as its goal the cross-training, or the retraining of teachers who have been displaced, but this program is only scratching the surface. It takes about $250,000 to train 15 people in this program. When you consider the fact that, in Louisiana alone, we have on record about 175 teachers who have been displaced, it would take quite a bit of money to retrain these teachers and make them employable again.

PAUL ORR: There is yet another issue or problem: though I know administrators are frequently accused of emphasizing too much the fact that you have to have money to do anything, one of the reasons that many of the good programs that have been developed have not been institutionalized is simply that they cost more money than is available to the institution. I have been told that in most state systems of education where there is an allocation of funds -- often based on enrollment -- the standard ratio for areas such as medicine and engineering and law, compared to teacher education and to the humanities and the social sciences, is about twenty to one.

PAUL OLSON: I want to go over that again. You mean twenty times as much money is spent per student?

PAUL ORR: Yes, my information is that twenty times as much is

allocated per student semester hour produced in engineering, as in the humanities, social sciences, and education. I have been told that that is the formula in Texas; I know that is the formula being considered in Alabama. There may be something to the old saw that you get what you pay for. We are accustomed to being poor; so that does not bother us too much in education. But there are some serious implications, the major implication being that innovative kinds of programs have not been institutionalized. When you get a contract you have the funds to do some of kinds of things you need to do; but when you fall back on your own resources, you simply do not have the funds.

C. Summary on Information Needed

PAUL OLSON: The ways of gathering information and the kinds of information that I heard needs to be gathered, it seems to me, are related to several sorts of issues. I may be leaving out something:

1. I get the sense that we need to know what sorts of roles are not being filled, or filled appropriately, by present training procedures. I am thinking here of roles in adult education, early childhood education, "open classroom" education and a variety of such roles.

2. The second kind of information that I hear that we need is information related to some kind of sense of what the process of education can be as defined by cultures and peoples who have not heretofore had a very great voice in the development of national conceptions of what the educational process is or how a school ought to be run: finding out what the Sioux people might want in the way of teachers, what their sense is of what it is like to bring a child meaningfully from childhood to adulthood and what kinds of persons ought to be around in order to do that.

3. The third kind of information gathering ought to represent a sort of "future's orientation". One of the problems has been that we have trained people for roles that did not exist by the time we finished training them. One cannot envisage a future accurately; one can envisage it a little more accurately than we have in the past.

DEAN CORRIGAN: One of the things that the policy center at Syracuse and Stanford does is to forecast what will happen if the schools move in certain directions. If we really move toward the community education basis approach, as in the North Dakota New School, we are talking about new kinds of people beyond just the notion of differentiated staffing as it now exists. Maybe there ought to be an institution in the country designated to look at futures and forecasting its implications for teacher education. Jim Melbourne in the University of Maryland Library Science Program is looking at urban information systems from black cultures point of view. He is forecasting the needs of the library for urban communities. He is talking about a futures forecasting notion for the library as a learning center.

PAUL OLSON: 4. The fourth kind of information which we need is some kind of analysis of governing boards at the institutions training

teachers--what sorts of constituencies one would predict that such-and-such an institution could serve given the governing board's agenda.

5. The fifth kind of information is flat out information on how much is really being spent for teacher education as compared with education for other skilled vocations.

LARRY FREEMAN: One thing that has struck me as we discussed the gathering of information is the notion that there exist already appropriate centers or agencies to collect statistics. It was implicit, at least in some of our conversation, that the "Center for Education Statistics" in the Office of Education and similar information gathering groups may not be the place to go, given the philosophical and cultural commitments implied by their past practice. I think that you were saying, Dr. Castaneda, that you find it difficult to divide the philosophical assumptions from the statistics gathering process itself. One issue then is how one develops a data gathering agency that possesses a set of philosophical premises which allow it to gather differentiated data of the sort sought here. Information gathering theory and measurement devices may not exist to get at the kinds of behavior, attitudes, and so on, considered to be important by the group.

## The Crisis of Confidence in Schools and Society*

Dr. Dean Corrigan
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Contrary to current public impressions there is no teacher surplus. There is however, an unwillingness on the part of the public to support the kind of education needed by our children in 1971. The phrase "teacher surplus" is misleading when viewed in relationship to the unmet educational needs of today's children and youth. According to a recent statement of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, our schools are short almost 170,000 elementary teachers, 60,000 secondary teachers and 40,000 librarians. Furthermore, how can we talk of a teacher surplus when:

(a) about half of our communities are without kindergartens;
(b) pre-school education is non-existent in most parts of the country even though research shows that the first five years of life largely determine the characteristics of the young adult;
(c) our physically and mentally handicapped children are being neglected;
(d) according to a recent Harvard study almost half the adult population 25 years old and over are functionally illiterate;
(e) our high schools have less than one counselor for 500 students and;
(f) there are hundreds of over-crowded classrooms with the resulting shallow teacher-pupil relationships and student anonymity that they produce.

Rather than witnessing a teacher surplus we have an educational deficit which for the first time since World War II we have an opportunity to correct. Ironically at the time we have this opportunity to make a real breakthrough, local school districts are turning down bond issues in unprecedented numbers. Thousands of teachers are needed but school systems are cutting back educational programs. Some say

*Keynote Address Delivered at the Opening Session of the Association for Childhood Education International, University of Vermont, July 5, 1971.

communities are unwilling to move to correct these deficits because money is tight. However, I believe our problem is much more complex than that. We are on a spiral toward futility and as educators we had better do something about it, now.

Viewed in a larger context the present financial crisis in education not only indicates a lack of confidence in the schools; it may signal a more devastating condition, thousands of Americans may be losing faith in the future. Because of our seeming inability to comprehend and solve the enormous problems of war, pollution, poverty, and polarization, a growing number of people, both young and old, seem to have arrived at the conclusion that investing in the future is futile.

As pointed out recently by the American Council on Education, we are witnessing a period of educational default unprecedented in our country's history. At the same time, we see large increases in expenditures for "booze and bombs," we hear that the United States is too poor to educate its youth. And, the cutbacks are not confined to elementary and secondary education.

Current proposals to withdraw major public support from higher education and to load indebtedness on individual students over half their lives is a radical departure from the honored tradition in the United States of providing educational opportunity. The governor of Ohio, for example, has suggested that his state institutions charge students the full cost of operation, and that students be permitted to pay much higher charges over 30 years. We should realize the folly in such plans. Any such loss of public support will tend to close the door on opportunities for students from low-and moderate-income families, no matter what assurances of compensatory student aid may be offered. For a country that at one time committed itself to the goal of educating all of the people, not just the children of the rich and powerful, this is an indefensible retreat.

In earlier days when poverty was far greater than it is now and taxes were even harder to bear, people were willing to sacrifice almost anything rather than obstruct the door to education. We are a far more affluent society today, in spite of our high taxes and inflationary woes, but this affluence appears to have blinded us to the necessity of educating those who do not share its bounties. We are locking the poor into their poverty and will doubtless later blame them for their state. Any system of universal education is ultimately tested at its margins. What is or is not done for the education of the physically, socially, and educationally handicapped, those who have hitherto stood on the periphery of our concerns will determine the effectiveness of the entire system. The education of other people's children is now and always has been as important as the education of our own; the reason, there are so many more of them. (The future of a nation that evades the responsibility of educating its young is bleak, indeed.)

The greatest challenge facing education in the days ahead is to reverse the spiral toward futility. We must turn this country around, we must prepare our students and their parents to walk into the future forward, not backward.

As a first step, we must restore the public's confidence in their schools. We must convince them that schools can:

(a) be simultaneously child-centered and subject-or knowledge-centered;
(b) stress aesthetic appreciation and value clarification without weakening the three R's and;
(c) be humane and educate well.

As a second step, we must help our people, both young and old, reject the prophets of doom. Presently there is a "crisis of belief" in this country. However, even though the human condition is being viewed with great apprehension, nothing is clearer to me than the fact that answers to the problems of our time are well within human capability. I am confident that a world can be created in which all peoples can lead lives free from the threat of man-made holocaust, free from hunger, disease, and homelessness, free from the environmental menace we have brought upon ourselves, and free from the prejudices and polarization that divide us.

The enormous complexity of the aforementioned social issues and the increasing abstruseness of the techniques for dealing with them confront our schools with new questions. How will we educate to make people sensitive to and aware of these complexities? How will we teach people to be comfortable with, indeed, to embrace change and the process of change as a way of life? (The most vivid truth of this new age is that we must change just to stay even, we must lead to keep ahead.)

There is no instant way to solve the great problems facing mankind because there are no simple solutions to complex problems. One thing we all know, griping is not enough, and giving up never solved anything. Hard work is part of the answer; the kind of work that brings us together.

Education most of all must help us to achieve a coming together of the drive of youth and the experience of age. In this regard, Margaret Mead states our task very well when she says, "We must learn together with the young, how to take the next steps. Out of their new knowledge--new to the world and new to us--must come the questions to those who are already equipped by education and experience to search for answers. The children must ask these questions that we would never think to ask, but enough trust must be re-establised so that the elders will be permitted to work with them on the answers."

We are in an era, as someone has said, where the "tidal wave of change threatens the cherished orthodoxy, the sacred traditions, and the ancient assumptions..." We do not precisely know where the future lies, but we know that we have to plan together for it.

## Recommendations

I would like to share with you a few of the essential components I would like to see in any strategy designed to improve education in the 1970's. Most of these were also recommended by the Forum Five Group of the 1970 White House Conference on Children, John Goodlad, chairman. It is recommended

(1) that national prioritites be reordered, with spending of money, materials, and energy for war and defense subordinated to wars against racism, poverty, and pollution, and action on behalf of education.

(2) that a Department of Education, with full Cabinet status, be established and backed by a National Institute of Education in addition to the present United States Office of Education. The Department of Education should contribute significantly to the reordering of national priorities, establish national educational policies, and promote constructive change in educational practice. The immediate charge to this Department should be:

   (a) provision of resources for salvaging the growing number of school districts now on the verge of financial collapse;
   (b) comprehensive implementation of what we now know to be quality education; and,
   (c) increased educational experimentation through a wide variety of educational institutions, with public accountability.

   that substantial government funds be allocated for the deliberate development of voluntary schools, accountable to the public, whose sole reason for being is experimental. Designed for purposes or providing alternatives, such schools could provide options in the community and thus would attract more supportive parent groups. In time, such schools would provide examples for study and networks of cooperating schools seeking to learn from each other.

(4) that support be given to schools endeavoring to abolish grade levels, develop new evaluation procedures, use the full range of community resources for learning, automate certain kinds of learning, explore instructional techniques for developing self-awareness and creative thinking, and more. Most of all we would urge that substantial financial support be given to schools seeking to redesign the entire learning environment, from the curriculum through the structure of the school to completely new instructional procedures. Especially needed are well-developed models of early learning. We know now the importance of pre-school education. Yet, we fail these years shamefully. The best way to provide every human being an equal chance is to provide equal access to educational opportunity from birth to death.

(5) that financial resources be directed toward those strategies that link schools seeking to change with teacher education institutions seeking to shake out of established patterns. Shuffling courses about is not the answer to improved teacher education. Required are change strategies which take account of the fact that pre-service teacher education, in-service teacher education, and the schools themselves are dependent, interrelated, and interacting components of one system. In brief, the teacher for tomorrow's learning must be prepared in school settings endeavoring to create a new kind of tomorrow. Most of today's teachers are prepared for yesterday's schools.

In addition to the aforementioned long range proposals, there are some specific immediate steps we can take right now to individualize and personalize existing learning environments. I agree with Silberman that schools needn't be "the grim joyless places most American schools are."

Here is a list of a dozen dehumanizing practices and conditions in schools which we should try to eliminate tomorrow:

1. the marking system and
   a. the illegitimate comparisons it makes;
   b. the pressure it creates;
   c. the failure it produces;

2. overcrowding and resulting
   a. class loads;
   b. easy anonymity;
   c. shallow teacher-pupil relationships;

3. curricular tracking and
   a. the caste system it fosters;

4. the inflexible and non-variable time schedule and
   a. the conformity it demands;

5. the scarcity of curriculum options and
   a. the boredom it creates;

6. the grade-level lock-step which ignores what we know about the ways in which unique selves develop and
   a. the accompanying imposition of single scope and sequence schemes;
   b. the perpetuation of an obsolete "winners and losers" concept of education;

7. testing instead of evaluating and
   a. the misuse and misinterpretation of intelligence, achievement and aptitude tests;

8. failure to reflect responsibility for lack of progress "achieved" by students;

9. the "objectivity" model which prevents meaningful relationships from developing between teachers and kids;

10. the "right answers" syndrome;

11. racial isolation and
    a. the prejudice and discrimination it breeds;
    b. the "defeatist" or "snobbish" self-concepts it nurtures;
    c. the mockery it makes of the American dream;

12. demonstrated distrust instead of demonstrated faith in human beings.

Many of these same dehumanizing elements exist in our colleges and universities. If teacher education is to rid itself of the hypocrisy which surrounds it, colleges of education must also eliminate these dehumanizing features. A college cannot preach one thing and do another. If teachers are going to be expected to provide individualized activities for their students, they must learn the value of such experiences in their own intellectual lives.

# The Preparation of the Teacher: An Evaluation of the State of the Art

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It may be useful to look at the preparation of teachers from the perspective of what it has been historically. The kind of preparation which a teacher has received in the United States and the kinds of institutions at which he has received it have depended very much upon what American society has felt that education should do for it. The 19th century normal school emerged at a time when an effort was being made to extend education to an enormously large segment of the American population through the 'common school,' and it emerged as the blood brother of the State Department of Education.[1] With its emergence went the assumption that proper public education was to be an extending, at public expense, of conventional private or 'clerical' education, to people who were, by reason of poverty, not automatically receiving it who could profit from it. The curricular logic according to which such schools were conducted, given the shift to the vernacular language in post-Reformation times, did not differ radically from that which placed the medieval 'poor scholar' in the 'litel schools' at what amounted to public expense or which dominated the 'petty schools' in Shakespeare's time. The emphasis of the training given to primary 'common school' teachers was placed upon equipping them to give students the basic linguistic skills not automatically conferred by popular culture, reading and writing, and the basic mathematical skills necessary to the craftsman or essential to the secondary school or college 'numbers' courses, which were descendants of the old quadrivium. 'Reading' and 'writing' were supported by spelling and grammar. A bit of geography and history might be thrown in, perhaps physiology, too, and 'good conduct' as suggested by a study of ethics and religion. What strikes one is the degree to which by the middle of the nineteenth century the subjects which were to dominate the elementary school curriculum for over a century were already set. The notion that the elementary school was primarily a place where 'skills' were learned was easily complemented by the notion that the training of an elementary teacher ought to be a training in the method whereby skills were to be communicated. It was in the normal schools that professional education was born, normal schools whose students came largely from the rural areas and the lower social and economic classes. From the beginning professional education, by virtue of its con-

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[1]Merle Borrowman, The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education (New York, 1956), pp. 36-37. Much of the detail of this section finds support in James B. Conant's The Education of American Teachers, (New York, 1963), pp. 1-14--passim. This essay was done in 1968; some of 1968's realities have changed as of 1971 but not many.

stituency, was socially engaged and concerned with the development of visible human skills.

On the other hand, the training offered to the secondary school teacher, like that offered to Latin grammar school masters from medieval times on, was offered at the college level. It centered in disciplines valued at the colleges and universities, most of these disciplines having had their origin in the medieval university's version of a classical education, the seven liberal arts: the linguistic arts--grammar, logic, rhetoric; and the arts concerned with the study of things--arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy. Since American civilization to a large degree assumed that it ought to aspire, in formal cultural expression, to the estate of ancient Greece and Rome, the classical origin of the disciplines gave them credibility. And the medieval and classical distinction between the disciplines learned by the contemplative and 'free man' and those learned by the technologically competent craftsman and maker of things continued to be belabored by the university and grammar school leaders of the 19th century and particularly by such powers as Yale's Jeremiah Day. They argued that the function of education for the free man (as opposed to the technologist) is to develop the mental powers which can be applied to a range of human problems. Hence, the emphasis on a few subjects of Greco-Roman origin such as logic. When the normal schools entered the field of secondary school teacher education, they, too, accepted the discipline centered notions of their college rivals in the art of preparing teachers. But gradually the notion of the 'disciplines' changed. A primary curricula quarrel in Higher Education had from the 18th century concerned the place of the empirical physical sciences and the allied technological vocations. These found their best 'popular' home in the land grant colleges and institutions developed under the Morrill Act and influenced by the Cornells and the Whites. The more 'radical' academic types--the popularizers--which clustered in such schools during the second half of the 19th century--agreed that studies in science and technology could 'liberate' and 'discipline' the mental powers as well as studies in the older contemplative curricula.

The differences in orientation which separated training programs for the elementary school teachers from those for secondary school teachers have remained with American education to some degree, at least until the date of the widespread dissemination of Jerome Bruner's remarks that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."[1] That remark, understood or misunderstood, was associated with the creation of a variety of

[1]Jerome Bruner, The Process of Education (New York, 1960), p. 33.

new elementary school curricula in the early 60's and, hence, of a great many training programs and Title XI institutes for elementary teachers which claimed to take cognizance of the state of scholarship in the disciplines to a degree certainly not the case in the early 19th century and rarely the case in the earlier portion of this century.

The Morrill Act and the movement toward the popular university had the effect of forcing many departments and colleges engaged in the business of teacher education to emulate the organization and reward system of departments in the disciplines without necessarily recognizing their claims to full partnership in the education of teachers. With the enormous movement toward popular education in the late 19th and early 20th century and the concomitant development of the land grant colleges and public universities, teacher training came increasingly to be performed in the state supported universities and the teacher colleges converted from normal schools which saw their general function as being to prepare students in the disciplines who would be capable of handling the variety of crafts and vocations dependent on the mastery of some sort of advanced scholarship.[1] It was generally in such institutions that training in science for teachers and in the vocational-technological subjects first made its way. And it was in the presence of such science departments and of the notion that all 'subjects' could be scientifically explored, that university studies in the science of education, putatively drawing on all of the behavioral and social sciences, were founded. As Mr. Conant has pointed out, as the equivalents of the professional education sectors of the normal schools and teachers colleges found a home in the popular universities, they also found themselves in a position of competing for funds and prestige with Graduate Colleges and Colleges of Arts and Sciences whose faculties were often products of private institutions not particularly sympathetic with the 'popular' side of popular education.[2] These faculties tended to regard pedagogical subjects and the training of teachers as activities which did not carry a high priority in the university agenda. As the normal school of an earlier period found it necessary to ally itself with State Departments of Education and public school systems in order itself to create a political alliance sufficient to sustain, in the legislature, training courses relevant to the teachers who planned to go into the public schools, so the new Teachers Colleges and Departments of Education continued the 'outside' liaison through the first half of the century. The primary device through which this political liaison made its power felt was through the device of certification, a device perhaps once absolutely necessary to the

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[1]Merle Borrowman, The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education, p. 160ff.

[2]James Bryant Conant, The Education of American Teachers, pp. 10-11.

development of American public education and still having a powerful political effect. It had power because people with credentials had faith in it; it is not so clear that they do any more, at least not in the same way that they once did. It has been wryly and widely observed, by commentators of America's schools, that certification measures have no more to do with the quality of a teacher (which can only meaningfully be measured by looking at what happens between him and the child he teaches) than accreditation procedures have to do with the quality of a training program. A training program can obviously only be measured by looking at the teachers it brings forth.

As the College of Education found its place in the university, it found that it had to compete with the rest of the university on the university's terms: to emulate its research techniques;[1] to develop a graduate faculty; to invest priority funds in faculty members capable of publishing; to mark out special research areas not previously preempted--on the humanistic side, the History of Education and its 'Philosophy'; on the scientific side (where behaviorism had a marked impact), a whole series of the nonstatistical and, later, statistical studies of the psychology of learning and the study of the human group in relation to learning situations. Gradually educational psychology, educational sociology and educational anthropology emerged as separate 'disciplines' and 'research areas.[2] And, the normal school or teachers college with the single unique thrust--to prepare teachers--gradually fades in the first four decades of the twentieth century as the education of teachers finds a home in the university or the large many-department college.

During the 20's and 30's, even into the 40's, the larger teachers' colleges of the country, particularly those in the populist middle west, were influenced mightily by what went on at Columbia University's Teachers College. And Columbia was itself powerfully concerned with social action: with developing the individual's right to self-determination, with union rights, with raising the standard of living, with student rights, with academic freedom, with the claims of internationalism.[3] It is, thus, not surprising that, in the 1930's the interest in research at the great universities' Schools of Education was frequently complemented by an engagement with social action, an interest correlative with the interest in social reform of the national political administration. But by the 1940's and 1950's, the

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[1]Merle Borrowman, The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education, pp. 84-86.

[2]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[3]Cf. Lawrence A. Cremin et al, A History of Teachers College: Columbia University (New York, 1954), pp. 244-256 and passim.

more active side of the teacher education movement had either largely died away in the wake of the Second World War or had come under very severe attack from the men in the disciplines. Departments and colleges of teacher education like those in the disciplines at the college and university level ceased to regard themselves as places which could have an effect through the students whom they trained upon social problems which did not immediately relate to national defense. [1]

One may question whether the social concern which manifested itself in some leading teacher training institutions, in the 20's and 30's, was of a piece with that presently being developed in the more 'engaged' institutions of the 60's; the Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Education (Cardinal Principles of Education, 1918) which supplanted the Reports of the Committee of Ten (1894), the Committee Fifteen (1894), and the Committee of Seventeen (1905), has seemed to some commentators to assume--with a kind of cultural arrogance--that the primary function of education is to fit aspiring groups into the mould of a middle class--polite, prudent, and capable of performing usefully the work of the technological society. [2] The general rubrics of the report spoke of an American high school which would be "the prototype of a democracy in which various groups must have a degree of self-consciousness as groups and yet be federated into a larger whole through the supports of common interest and ideals." But when the report spoke specifically, consideration for the "self-consciousness" of groups tended to disappear in the declaration of other ideals--" worthy home membership," "loyalty to ideals of civic righteousness," "cordial cooperation in civic undertakings," "accepting one's vocational lot" (described as developing a "clear conception of right relations between the members of a vocation" including employer and employee). The student was to learn his "capacities," and "aptitudes," his "social heredity" and "destiny in life," largely on the ground of acceptance. This is the period of the suppression of German speaking minorities, of the rise of the Klan, and of the 'melting pot' school. Socialization in this framework came to acquire a 'conservative' content, requiring an accommodation to rather narrow conceptions of the American character and a rejection of the conceptions which older civilizations had held of desirable family pattern, linguistic heritage, property rights, and heroic behavior. This was also the period of the most egregious post Civil War racism and its flagrant attacks upon black culture and of the development of "separate but equal" training programs for black teachers.

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[1] George S. Count's book-long question, Dare the Schools Build New Social Order? (New York, 1932) was in the 40's and 50's, not asked very often.

[2] See Wallace W. Douglas, "One Road or Many," unpublished manuscript presented to the Dartmouth Anglo-Amer. Sem. (1966), in passim.

The teacher training programs, the general educational programs based on Cardinal Principles, worked for those people who had come to America in hopes of finding their way into the classless class. But there is little evidence that teachers were prepared to deal with any sort of radical heterogeneity of culture: the Mississippi Negro, the Appalachian poor white, the American Indian, the Spanish-American child. If many active teachers are the products of training programs with the somewhat limited conceptions of 'education for democracy' set forth in Cardinal Principles and like documents, it is not surprising that they have had difficulty interpreting any culture to students who do not come from an industrialized European civilization. But the social engagement of the teacher educators in the thirties, however limited its vision, may seem enlightened beside the 'neutrality' or 'disengagement' which developed as the disciplines came increasingly to dominate the education of teachers in the 40's and 50's.

As training for teachers came to be increasingly located in universities and 'normal schools' were made over into 'State Teachers Colleges' (and then into 'State Colleges' and branch 'State Universities'), the view that what a good teacher primarily needed to receive was a 'good general education' came to be increasingly received. The special 'courses for teachers' of normal school days went out, the plans for locating courses in the disciplines in Colleges of Education which was tried at Columbia in the early part of the century and pushed at a number of institutions influenced by the Carnegie Study of Teacher Education in Missouri (1920) did not finally prevail. And the notion that liberal arts courses within the disciplines prepared people to do many things (usually advocated by spokesmen for the disciplines) came to be accepted widely by Education people. The presidents of the teachers colleges wanted to make their schools over into general liberal arts schools. Under that pressure, teacher educators came increasingly to see that what was needed, by secondary teachers, was a good general education, a major in a conventional academic department plus certain 'professional' courses taken in the pedagogical division: the position which Borrowman calls that of the 'harmonizers'. The elementary teacher took a major in a discipline called 'Elementary Education' or 'Curriculum and Instruction.'

After a century of ups and downs, the 'harmonizers' position received its final seal of approval in the Second Bowling Green Conference; as the conference report says, "the major outcomes of the conference are to be found in better attitudes, better communication and better understanding among all segments of the profession regarding the complex tasks of preparing teachers, rather than in the significance of any agreements on content and procedures."[1] That a Bowling Green kind of arrangement did

[1]T. M. Stinnett (ed.), The Education of Teachers: New Perspectives (Bowling Green, 1958), p. v.

not so much constitute a program as a truce was not widely perceived. [1] And the rapid development of the Soviet science in the late 40's and 50's, the 'spectacle' of Soviet scientific achievement, encouraged the confidence of people in the disciplines that theirs was an expertise liberating everywhere and vital to the national interest. What was done to make teachers-to-be become good teachers could safely be ignored.

The great impulse of the 50's and early 60's was an impuse toward curriculum reform and the concomitant development of training programs through the National Science Foundation and the National Defense Education Act to interpret the curriculum reform movement: to interpret, to teachers, what leading scholars in the disciplines thought to be the knowledge essential to America's teachers. The notion to which many of us tacitly held was the notion that teachers who had been badly trained in the subject areas and who taught curricula which did not represent the state of knowledge would become good teachers if they could but be exposed to a modern version of the basic axioms of the disciplines, their scholarly 'structures' or procedures of investigation. A fillip of learning theory and a workshop might be thrown in (Mr. Conant's book gave some support to these notions). Considerable efforts were made in some states, notably California (1961), to require elementary teachers to take full academic undergraduate majors. Other states allowed or encouraged academic departments to require of elementary and secondary teachers in preparation a larger number of hours of undergraduate training in the academic departments.

The rubrics of recent TEPS publications and the AACTE evaluative criteria, proposed for NCATE use, would appear to support the shift to more intensive work in the 'liberal arts' disciplines; [2] specifically, the AACTE's Massanari report recommends that a third to a half of the pre-service students' program be taken in 'general studies' so as to provide America's classrooms with 'well informed, cultivated persons.' It further identifies two kinds of specialization in the disciplines necessary to a teacher:

> Teaching requires two types of knowledge over and beyond that which is acquired in general education. One is the knowledge that is to be taught to the pupils, e.g., the mathematics one plans to teach, or the science that one is to teach in the science class. The other type of knowledge will not be taught directly to

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[1] Merle Borrowman, The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education, pp. 68-69, 147, 182.

[2] A Position Paper on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, by NCTEPS (Washington, 1963), pp. 11-12.

> the pupil, but may be needed by the teacher as a background for the teaching of a particular subject, e.g., Anglo-Saxon for the English teacher, American history for the teacher of American literature, political science for the history teacher, mathematical logic for the teacher of mathematics, or abnormal psychology for the teacher of sex education. It is assumed in this standard that both kinds of knowledge are a required part of the candidate's professional training, although judgments regarding these requirements will be based on collaboration between appropriate members of the staff in the field concerned and the appropriate members of the faculty of education. Nothing in the standard should be construed as implying that instruction in this component for the preparation of teachers must be carried on in any specific school or department or in any specific format, such as courses. [1]

Thus, the battle between Jeremiah Day style scholars who plugged for a training in the disciplines without regard to questions of the uses of the knowledge and the William C. Bagley style scholars who argued for a training in the disciplines especially relevant to teachers appears to end in a resounding compromise.[2] That the disciplines have received a much larger hearing at the level where the bureaucracies which regulate teacher education operate may be seen in the development since 1955 of NASDTEC guidelines (National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification) for the certification of teachers of mathematics and science, the modern foreign languages, and English--guidelines formulated

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[1] Karl Massanari, Standards and Evaluative Criteria for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (Washington, 1967), p. 13.

[2] Actually, NCATE accreditation practice in the past, with respect to training in the disciplines, has been somewhat vaguer than the Massanari position programs would appear to suggest. In the past, NCATE has accepted regional accrediting of liberal arts departments. Since this accrediting is done without looking at the degree to which these departments attend to their responsibilities in the education of teachers, it does not encourage the creation of coherent institution aide programs for training teachers. Any NCATE effort to look at the subject matter training offered to teachers has seemed to require that it engage in an enormously complex operation; recently proposals for simplifying this sort of operation have been made. (J. N. Hook, "A Possible Contribution to Specialized Professional Groups to Accreditation, "Evaluative Criteria for Accrediting Teacher Education (Washington, 1967), pp. 80-83.) Certainly something needs to be done in this area. If the education of teachers is to be seen as the responsibility of whole institutions, NCATE should accredit the whole institution.

by representatives of the State Departments of Education, the professional societies, and the concerned college people in both Education and the disciplines. Nothing in the NASDTEC proposals will guarantee a good teacher, but a failure to carry out their recommendations in institutions of Higher Education and, for teachers in local educational authority training programs, may assure us of some pretty ignorant ones. Moreover, the development of an increasing concern for communicating the basic axioms of the 'disciplines' or their basic 'frames' for looking at the world has very recently led to a large scale development of techniques for recording what goes on between the student and the teacher in the classroom and looking at the kind of thought, the kind of research technique, the kinds of logical processes which come into play. As one can ask questions about the cogency of the research man's procedures, so one can ask questions about the questions, evidences, and answers which appear in the classroom through close analyses of tapes, transcriptions and video-tapes of what happens between child and child or between child and teacher. [1] The most advanced teacher education is, so to speak, an examination of the research process in the classroom.

A great many American institutions now preparing teachers represent, by virtue of their unique tradition, one or another of the earlier states of the art of preparing teachers; for instance, the emphasis upon pedagogy in training for the elementary school and upon the disciplines in training for the secondary school has become something approaching a constant tradition in many schools. Many schools represent, in various parts of their program, a series of ossifications of older strata. What the whole task of preparing teachers means in the entire social and institutional setting in which the preparation of teachers takes place, has not seriously been addressed either by American Higher Education or by the schools until recently. Such projects as the National TTT Project and the Tri-University Project do make an effort to examine the schooling of teachers in the broad context of its social and institutional setting.

The pressures for such an examination are now coming primarily from America's schools and its alienated communities, as it endeavors to deal with poverty, injustice, and the failure of 'the educational system' to allow men to develop their full sense of power to act within the system. The primary responsibilities for developing programs to answer the needs of America's 'alienated groups' has fallen, for better or for worse, to the local public school systems under Title I of the ESEA. Title I and its evaluations have given the schools an opportunity to see how crucial is the total classroom situation or school situation created by teachers or teams of teachers, aides, and so forth; to look in ways never considered before at

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[1] John R. Verduin, Jr., Conceptual Models in Teacher Education (Washington, 1967) passim.

the quality of teaching which goes on in circumstances where teaching is difficult, and to see how egregiously teaching in these schools has sometimes failed. Now we are seeing the development of fairly extensive training programs for elementary teachers under Title I. These training programs have until recently been almost entirely divorced from institutions of Higher Education. They are now being developed in conjunction with Higher Education in some states under the rubrics of the Four-State Program.[1] We are seeing the Teachers Corps operation in which the conditions of the local school system become the 'essential' in the training program. The public schools of the nation have also had the experience of ESEA Title III and the muscle it gives them, and they have come to sense, rightly or wrongly, a capacity to perform some of the tasks of teacher education better than the colleges and universities can. They are perforce involved in the training of teachers in a socially engaged way. This cleavage between the representatives of the schools and the representatives of training programs in Higher Education represents the breakdown of a very old alliance, and it is widening. With it goes another more awesome cleavage. One sees developing in certain areas, in the great inner cities, a sense that the whole educational establishment has failed children in this slum, on that reservation, or in this dusty declining rural area. Few of our training programs have inquired of, say, the inner city communities as to what they would wish a teacher to be.[2]

Power in education and the thrust of power have changed: the disappearance of almost all independent professional schools exclusively dedicated to the education of teachers which handled all of their education happened innocently, and it may have been a blessing. The leaving behind of the set of social concerns prominent in the 1930's was natural to the war and post-war generation. The subtle and gradual shifting of control over teacher education from the Schools of Education to the scholars in the disciplines (whose procedures of investigation and special information have been accepted as basic to the actual training of a teacher and basic to the teaching itself) has put scholarship and the schools in touch with one another once more. But with these benign shifts have gone two further processes: the first is a continuous disengagement of the part of Higher Education (and those in Higher Education responsible for the training of teachers) from social identification with those groups who stand relatively

[1]The Four-State Program for the training of teachers of disadvantaged youth is at work in Wisconsin, Oregon, California, and Colorado. The preliminary plans of the program may represent one of the best statements of new directions in teacher education and is being coordinated by the AACTE's NDEA National Institute on the Education of Disadvantaged Youth.

[2]Mario Fantini, "Some thoughts relative to Strategies and Processes Involving the Movement of Education from an Outdated Segregated System to a Modern Integrated One," unpublished paper.

outside of education and an increasing identification on Higher Education's part with those groups who stand already inside of education's magic circle. The other is the breakdown of the old alliances between the Schools of Education (or, earlier, the normal schools), the state department and the public school administrator. The old battle with the 'disciplines' has ended in compromises instead of programs; and the thrust of the American educational establishment's efforts to contain the "blood dimmed tide" loosed in those communities which lie outside of education must seem to the American public to be no more than Higher Education's form of "mere anarchy."



Evaluating the art of educating teachers involves evaluating what American society hopes that education will do for it, and, thus what kinds of political relationships are developed in the realms where teachers are educated. Evaluating the schooling offered to teachers also involves evaluating how well individuals are prepared to do a job.

The office of a teacher has been a well-defined office. Phillipe Aries describes, in his Centuries of Childhood, the process whereby the medieval teacher-scholar, teaching students of a variety of ages, and exploring a subject more or less as he saw fit without any clear attention to sequence, came gradually to be the Renaissance and Enlightenment 'pedagogue' surrounded by his set curriculum and the hierarchy of rooms (or curricular stages) called grades.[1] Aries pictures the movement of Western education between the Middle Ages and the early Nineteenth Century as a movement defining the authority of the teacher as residing, less and less, in a professional competency and, more and more, in the functionary's capacity to fulfill the expectations placed upon him by a set institutional system. Some scholars have suggested that the 'depersonalizing' and 'bureaucratizing' of the teacher's role has proceeded at an accelerated rate in recent years, a direction which is somewhat anachronistic given the amount of verbal service paid to "education for democracy" and "respect for the individual" in the folklore of education.[2] The Education Professions Development Act's title speaks of developing 'professions' but the realization of the title's implications will require a major 'redirection' of history, the eighteenth and nineteenth century pattern with respect to the role of the teacher having continued into the twentieth century with only a few scant effective challenges from the Pestatozzi's, the Dewey's, the Montessori's, or the A.S. Neill's.

Pedagogue-conceptions of what a teacher must be have been handily encouraged by certain sorts of administration, curricular philosophy, and

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[1]Phillipe Aries, Centuries of Childhood (London, 1962), p. 152, and passim.

[2]Vernon Haubrich, "The Rhetoric and Reality of Educational Change," Reason and Change in Elementary Education, Report of the Tri-University Project (February 1968), pp. 89-104.

educational material. It is simply easier to do a functionary's job. The functionary's role delivers the individual of responsibility for failure with a child, placing it upon an anonymous institution--the schools--and none of us likes to be responsible for human failure. But insofar as the schools are a chief agent through which society, with the force of law, lays hold on individuals in their formative years, the child's vision of the social world may depend very much on the humaneness, the expression of a personal capacity to serve, and the intellectual autonomy which the teacher, as an independent agent, can express.

Though the nineteenth century role symbolized by the dais is perhaps the easiest role possible to the teacher, it has come in for an increasing challenge from the company mentioned above, from the Progressive Education people in the 1930's, and from the men of the 50's and 60's who tried to create such curricula as invite students to discover their own problems and evidences. The role has taken more punishment from specialists in educational technology, from 'behavior modification' people, from the IDEA group, and from persons affected by the procedures of Head Start or the Leicestershire Infant Schools. Each of these groups is proposing his own 'model' of what a teacher should be. Moreover, the proponents of the development of carefully articulated and differentiated systems of staffing, requiring 'continuous and sustained learning ... for the most prestigious career positions' whose arguments influenced the passage and execution of the EPDA obviously envisage a different role for the 'teacher' from that of a pedagogue or lecturer on the dais. He is conceived of as fulfilling a group of new roles in a new system of roles, a system of roles which will change as society changes. Each of these ancient or recent conceptions of a teacher's office may be meaningful in a certain situation, However, we must look carefully at the offices which we choose for a teacher in this neighborhood or that. For if the child's conception of the benignity or malevolence of American society is determined by the manner in which 'society' lays hold on him in the person of the teacher, then decisions about the office of a teacher must be taken in a much broader context than are conventional managerial decisions about staff 'efficiency.' Then to decide that a teacher should operate, say, in early childhood schooling, according to a 'script' proposed by a Reisman, a Sealey, a Bereiter, an A.S. Neill, or an O.K. Moore (to suggest a broad spectrum of conceptions of the teacher's role) is to decide about what our society wishes children from a particular home and culture to think about America. We may need help from anthropology and sociology here.

Far too many of the teachers who emerge from our in-service programs even in 1968 know only the role of the pedagogue who drills from a metaphorical 'dais.' There is no excuse for the failure of our pre-service training programs generally to provide the teacher-in-preparation with practice with a variety of teaching roles in a variety of kinds of classrooms tempered to the authority system of the neighborhood, practice which might

enable them to make intelligent judgments about the role which they ought to occupy in a specific situation when they come to have full responsibility for a class. And the teaching done in college, in the disciplines and in Education, ought to be flexible enough to embody for the teacher-to-be the notion that a good teacher may be many things.

It has been suggested that the American public school teacher occupies a role predominantly 'bureaucratic' rather than 'professional,' looking toward 'the hierarchy' and 'the system' rather than toward the child and knowledge, because the mythology of the profession held by teachers and by the public encourages a prudential conception of what a teacher ought to be and because the system for recruiting people to the profession developed by training programs and schools demands the one-dimensional person. Though such charges are probably overstated, they do encourage one to ask what kinds of people are, in reality, attracted to our present training programs. If the office determines the people who accept it, the people who choose an office may also shape it.

The American teacher-to-be is, with respect to ability and performance, no better than the average undergraduate; the 1965 Coleman report found, in 32 teacher-training colleges in 18 states, that ninth graders aspiring to teach were not appreciably more able than average ninth graders; twelfth graders having similar aspirations were only "slightly above the typical student in academic performance and commitment."[1] And at the college level, future teachers generally were surpassed by non-future teachers at both the freshman and senior levels in tests of non-verbal reasoning, mathematics, science, and social sciences. Only in the fine arts were the future teachers ahead.[2] Coleman report tests were made in institutions having the training of teachers as a primary purpose where the teaching vocation ought to be respected. The British situation represents a marked contrast to the American as represented by the Coleman report. Over 70% of the secondary students who in 1963 entered British training colleges for teachers entered with A level GCE's, a level of achievement which would place them among the top 15% of British secondary school students.[3] Britain may be an artificial comparison. Certainly, the shortage of teachers in this country, the massive numbers required to meet our needs, even granted differentiated staffing, make it highly unlikely that we shall ever get all of our teachers from a highly gifted group. But we might profitably try to get twice as many teachers

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[1] James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, 1966), pp. 25-26, 336-338.

[2] Ibid., pp. 334-346.

[3] A. A. Evans, "Where Will We Teach the Teachers," Twentieth Century, CLXXII (Autumn, 1963), pp. 40-50.

as we presently do from the upper 25% of our high school and college classes (assuming meaningful measures can be found for assessing students in the colleges, that is measures which do not exclude groups traditionally excluded by virtue of their wearing the wrong cultural coats). And the studies which have indicated that a teacher's ability as rated by intelligence tests and by institutions of Higher Education has almost no correlation with his success may be one of the primary indictments of the role presently occupied by the American teacher.[1] For if a person's 'ability' does not make a significant difference to his capacity to do a job, either the job demands little or the conception of ability means little.

Teachers who are to create for their peculiar children curricula which represent what is known and recognize what is unique in the children must need some special kinds of ability and training. The 'better group' of teachers which we envisage would be able to do this.

A teacher's success in situations where teaching is difficult and social life hard, and, indeed, in all situations depends on his humanity and openness. He has to have a capacity to imagine the lives of persons who do not come from 'Dick and Jane' homes.[2] Yet, we have no measures to prevent people who lack openness, flexibility, or a capacity to love from making a career in teaching. Faculty members in our training programs have been unable to prevent the extension of a credential to students whom they know to be severely disturbed emotionally: the present tools for measuring the 'affective' side of a man's competency (such as The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, the Stern Activities Index, and the Guildford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey), have not been accepted as of sufficient validity to allow training program faculties to base their recruitment of teachers on testing assessments of human warmth and flexibility.[3] Even if the tests do not work all that well, it does seem possible that the subjective judgment of several people from Higher Education and the schools could come close to the mark in any effort to assess the humanity of the candidate for teacher education or the teacher-to-be. The judgments could

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[1] B. Berelson and G. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, (New York, 1964), 3:440-441.

[2] Nathan L. Gage, "Desirable Behaviors of Teachers," Teachers for the Disadvantaged, ed. Michael Usdan and Frederick Bertolaet (Chicago, 1966), pp. 5-6, 8-10.

[3] "The important point to be made here is that the application of these (affective) tests to educational matters has not been singularly successful." Bertram M. Masia, "Evaluating Educational Outcomes by Means of Formal Behavioral Science Instruments," Teachers for the Disadvantaged p. 194; cf. pp. 190-212.

be based on observations and videotapes of candidates working with children in a one-to-one relationship, and with groups of several sizes. As it is, we probably get better teachers--warmer, more humane people--than we deserve, given our expectations of what a teacher's 'conduct' should be, the image which we have of what a teacher is to do, and the salaries we pay.

The prevailing 'provincialism' of our conception of what a teacher should be may do as much as deficiencies in salary schedules, training programs, and working conditions, to account for the fact that, even in institutions predominantly dedicated to teacher training, our best pre-service prospects all to frequently change their career elections.[1] The actual 'provincialism' of our teachers is also a hazard. Even imagination and warmth depend, in part, on what one has seen of life. Most of our teachers are recruited from middle class families. As one student of poverty has aptly put it, very few "middle class trained people can begin to imagine" the world of the Puerto Rican, the Negro, the Spanish American, or the 'Anglo' hillbilly, a world where "Mexican boys in Southern California hear of a future of work in the citrus industry, or following the crops, and Negro boys of the hot, heavy unskilled dirty work performed by most men known to them. . . ."[2] To a degree, the Teacher Corps, and the Peace Corps before it, have opened up these kind of worlds to middle class youths contemplating a career. They may be changing the image of what a teacher is and, in so doing, may be engaging the idealism of certain of the disenchanted and disengaged among America's youth who would not otherwise have contemplated a teaching career and who are a necessary leaven.[3] But if we are to make teaching a more cosmopolitan and humane profession, more teachers must be recruited from the outsiders' classes. The fact that the possession of the symbols of poverty--a family with a low

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[1] Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 342. For teachers' sense of the community as a restrictive factor, see Glen Robinson, The American Public School Teacher, 1965-66 (NEA Research Division; Washington, 1967), pp. 42-43; it is significant that the sense of community restriction is highest among teachers in the Southeastern part of the United States and among secondary school men. It is hard to assess how many potential teachers of the more non-conforming, creative or politically rebellious sort are discouraged from teaching by the fear of potential community or bureaucratic restriction. To some extent, the tone of our training programs screens out such people.

[2] Charles W. Hobart, "Underachievement Among Minority Groups Studied: An Analysis and A Proposal," Phylon Quarterly, XXIV, (1963), 186.

[3] E. G. see Donald M. Sharpe, "Lessons from the Teacher Corps," NEA Journal, LVII, (May, 1968), pp. 21-22.

educational level, lifelong confinement to one's own region, low educational level, low scores on vocabulary tests centered in majority group lexicon--tends to hamper a teacher's capacity to raise his student's achievement levels must not become an impediment. [1] If we are to widen the circle of people brought into the teaching professions, we must provide what American poverty could not--travel, a richly varied experience with the English language, a long-term educational opportunity and support for 'learning while working--and obviously, the achievement of people who emerge from the world of 'poverty' needs to be measured, less and less, on 'insiders' grounds--in tests and schools, and in the great world, for the benefit of all of us.

Given the limited number of 'games' which have been played by many people in the 'conventional'group we are bringing into our teaching profession, the worlds of poverty and pain are worlds with which recently trained teachers often cannot or do not wish to cope. The nation's future teachers are 'interracially inexperienced'; they tend to prefer teaching the children of white collar groups; and some over 40% of them have spent "most of their life in their present city, town or country."[2] They have, in very large proportion, been trained in small country towns or college towns and set to work in model suburban schools. And when they become teachers, they are likely to support their church or their state educational association but unlikely to take much interest in civil liberties groups or even in political associations which ask that they do more than vote.[3] They are, to turn Eliot's phrase backward, "decent godly people whose monument," were they not teachers, would "be the asphalt road and a few thousand lost golf balls."

As of 1966, the majority of America's teachers were women (69%), the proportion of women to men being then 2:1 in most parts of the country save in the Southeast where it is 3:1. The sense that the teacher's office is so largely a prudential, conservative office may be related to the fact that

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[1]Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 316.

[2]Coleman, Equality of Education Opportunity, p. 17. The assignment of inexperienced teachers to poverty areas may capitalize on the idealism and high heart of the young, but it deprives the new teacher and children of the assistance of the better experienced teacher in developing strategies for coping in difficult areas. About 20% of our teachers have less than 3 years experience (an equal number have more than 20 years).

[3]See Robinson, The American Public School Teacher: 1965-66, p. 44.

teaching is so largely a woman's profession (over 90% of our elementary teachers are women). If higher education in its 'feudal' higher ranges needs a much larger influx of women, elementary education--particularly in those inner city and rural areas where many children do not have a father living in the home and rarely encounter men who have been successful in conventional schools--needs large numbers of 'rough-and-tough' men, men who are quick on their feet and socially engaged.

The recruitment of teachers is a national problem, one which Sections D and E of the EPDA were partly designed to solve through the recruitment of "artists, craftsmen, scientists, artisans, or persons from other professions or vocations, or homemakers to teach or otherwise assist in programs or projects of education on a long term, short term or part time basis." Section B2 of the EPDA Program is intended to "attract to teaching persons in the community who have been otherwise engaged." The notion behind EPDA is that education is potentially the job of all of the community, that a credential may not be so important as certain other skills to certain kinds of teaching and that the political and employment structure of the schools is 'open' to the community. How well such a notion will serve to alleviate critical teacher shortages we do not as yet know. We do know that 1967 NEA estimates of teacher shortages indicate that the 1967-68 demand for new teachers exceeded the supply by about 172,000 teachers (145,700 elementary). These shortages were particularly severe at the elementary school level generally and in English and math and science, at the secondary level. Significally the shortages have also appeared in those teaching vocations which do not promise 'white collar' children as subjects: special education, vocational-technical courses, and industrial arts. Were we to try to meet standards of 'minimum quality' as defined by the NEA, we would have needed nearly 400,000 teachers in 1967-68. We graduated 227,088. Were we to try to find teachers who could operate in a variety of roles or who meet the highest human standards, it is hard to estimate what we should need.



The problems which we face in the recruitment of teachers fit for a teacher's role, the shifts which we have seen in the power to control the education of teachers may suggest strategies for creating institutions which will give us teachers who can deliver the goods for American society. Our hope lies in institutions which can recruit people who 'care intensely about what is happening to American society' and want to do something about it. It lies in the willingness of Higher Education as a whole to listen to the problems of the schools and to create total institutional programs for training teachers, programs done in tandem with the schools and the communities, however alienated or militant, which the schools are supposed to serve. These programs will require a radically different order of investment of money, emotional energy and idealism. They will require the

development, in Higher Education, of a radically different sense of responsibility for what happens to America's children.

American Higher Education has not seemed to want to invest much money in the training of teachers. The cost of credentialling dentists and doctors at most dental and medical schools is $5,000-$8,000 per student per year; for a few of the better medical schools the cost may go as high as $10,000-$12,000.[1] The cost of training a teacher in a teachers college was, in 1963, close to $800 per year (though current data are not available, AAUP salary figues do not suggest that teachers colleges have received markedly better support recently). In 1961, the cost per undergraduate student trained at universities was some over $2,000 per year (pre-service teachers are not the most costly of university undergraduate students).[2] Thus it would appear that the training of teachers is not treated as "professional training" on which the national interest depends when funds are dispersed in state legislatures or at the meetings of Boards of Directors.

One striking indication of where we place the training of teachers is the level of faculty salaries at the institutions doing the job of training America's teachers. Of the approximately 170,000 teachers credentialled in 1966 at the end of their undergraduate years, only about 3.5% received their work at institutions paying salaries at the Class "A" level or above in the 1966-67 rating scales of the American Association of University Professors. Most of these teachers were trained by a very few institutions--the University of Michigan, the City University of New York, by segments of the State University of New York, and by Northwestern University.[3] [The 8,000+ MAT's turned out in 1966 were, a few of them, trained at the well subsidized institutions (e.g. Harvard, 281) but very few.]

In 1967, these same AAUP "A" institutions received 36.29% of the defense contracts given to American universities and 27.9% of NSF monies.

About 18% of America's teachers were trained at AAUP Class "B" institutions, most of these large state supported institutions in California, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Washington, and Wisconsin. The 'state system' in California and New York where some systematic planning

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[1] Estimate from the Bureau of Manpower Statistics, U.S. Public Health Service.

[2] Unpublished data 1961-62, "Study of Finanical Statistics of Institutions of Higher Education," by the National Center for Educational Statistics, U. S. Office of Education.

[3] The statistics in this and succeeding sentences were developed by the Nebraska Curriculum Development Center, using AACTE and AAUP figures.

has gone ahead in time past with respect to the functions and appropriate support for institutions of higher education contributed a goodly portion to the group of teachers trained at Class "B" institutions. Another 32% of the nation's teachers have been trained at AAUP "C" level institutions. The "C" group is mostly made up of the less well-funded state universities and land grant colleges, some of the so-called 'state colleges,' and a rather large number of church-related schools and independent liberal arts colleges. Many of the institutions which received "A" or "B" level funding in 1966 were what most academic ratings would normally treat as 'good' institutions, capable of attracting good teachers and competent scholars. Even many of the 1966 "C" institutions had many good departments and colleges, according to normal measures of excellence, and this was particularly true if the institution was located in a low cost of living area or had 'great expectations' for the future or a good tradition. However, even 'good institutions' often do **not** spend very much on the teacher education segment of their program.

Even if one admits quality teacher education in the AAUP "A"; "B;" and "C" level institutions, they taken together created only slightly more than half of our teachers; 46.5% of America's teachers trained were in 1966 in institutions which, according to 1966-67 AAUP ratings, paid their faculties at the "D" level or below;[1] these institutions were generally small church-related schools which are under financed, state teachers colleges, Negro colleges, and state colleges in some of the states which do not have money to give to education or do not wish to give it (Mississippi, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, etc.). In a good many states, all or practically all of the teachers 'turned out' were turned out of institutions ranking at the "D" level or below. It should also be observed that a large number of these "D", and below, level institutions are under the control of the state legislatures or "state normal boards" which have scant regard for academic freedom.

If one can assume that institutions producing teachers produced roughly the same proporation of teachers in 1967 as they did in 1966, the 1967-68 division among A, B, C, institutions and D-and-below ones is better than the 1966-67 one: "A" institutions produced 2:6% of our teachers; "B", 28.1%; "C", 33.2%, and "D" and below 36.1%. The improvement, however, is not a radical one.

Moreover, if the Office of Education's recent experiences working with "B2" guidelines and with the development of state plans for the training of teachers under the TTT and the Four-State programs are indicative of

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[1]Comparable 1967 military prime contracts figures are: "A" institutions, 36.29; B, 10.27%; C, 7.99%; D and below 00.8 (other agencies, the remainder); comparable NSF figures are "A", 27.9; "B," 42.10; "C" 17.6%; D and below, (and other agencies), 12.4. Figures supplied by the Defense Dept. and NSF.

anything, they suggest that neither the states nor the agencies of the states which control the 'state colleges' had, prior to the passage of EPDA, made a profound assessment of what their needs for teachers and educational personnel are or how they are to be met. In many states, the 'state colleges' are located far from the urban centers; so are the small liberal art colleges; they use for their 'laboratories' the small town, or suburban, schools, in which the more urgent problems in the schooling of teachers do not appear. They, and the 'boards' which determine their level of funding, feel that history has passed them by. Yet, they continue to turn out teachers. They will need to plan, they will need help, to find history again.

The problems created by the inadequate financing and 'small town' locations of many of our training programs are compounded in the predominantly black institutions; at least until very recently (1965) almost all (98%) of the Negroes training to be teachers in the South, and over 50% of Negroes training in the North, were attending predominantly 'non-White" institutions.[1] These institutions--Christopher Jencks and David Riesman have called them "academic disaster areas"--are the product of America's long history of providing separate and unequal facilities to the non-White minority groups.[2] They--save for Howard, Fisk, Central State and D. C. Teachers College--are miserably undersupported places (AAUP range of "D" and below). If most of our non-white Teachers are to be trained in institutions having a hard time of it presently and institutions long ghettoized, then the misery of their training may well destroy what hope we have for spontaneous public support for integrated teaching staffs.

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[1] Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 365.

[2] Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "The American Negro College," Harvard Educational Review, XXXVII, (Winter, 1967), p. 26. The typical Negro college's expenditures per student ($1, 025) were only two-thirds of the national average (1965; 80% in 1950); only 10-15% of their students rank above the national average on verbal and mathematical tests; they pay their staffs only 75% of what white colleges pay; they enroll 54% women (38% women in white colleges). Nevertheless, 111 of the predominantly Negro institutions are accredited; they have produced a large number of distinguished American leaders, and many of them could, given massive financial support, achieve an integrated state and produce excellent Negro and white teachers. In any case, policy with respect to predominantly black institutions training teachers is a state and national concern. Cf. Jencks and Riesman, pp. 3-60; cf. Stephen J. Wright, "The Promise of Equality," Saturday Review (July 20, 1968), pp. 45-46, 58.

If what we know about the economics of the teaching professions obtains in institutions of Higher Education, then our figures showing that a very large group of our teachers are trained by college professors who are poorly paid means a good deal. Salary does, in broad institutional terms and on a national scale, probably reflect teaching quality to some degree. The economist, Finis Welch, has dealt with the relationship between teaching quality and salary at the lower levels and discovered that "the effect of teacher salaries is always positive; i.e. an increase in salaries would be expected to improve the quality of schooling. . . . The positive effect of teacher salaries can be interpreted as the effect of teacher quality. . . ."[1] The same thing probably holds true generally in Higher Education, particularly if one looks at the difference between "A" and "B" institutions and "D," "E," and "F" institutions. Research competence may be rewarded at the Harvard's, the Columbia's and so forth and superlative teaching may be ignored, but the bad teaching done at such places is as nothing compared with that done at AAUP "D," "E," and "F" level institutions. Since, as Edwin Fenton has suggested, "most students learn to teach by imitating their teachers" and "every college subject course becomes an implicit method course," the fact that 50% of our teachers and most of our non-white teachers are trained at institutions ghettoized and undersupported cannot give us comfort.[2]

An undersupported institution is likely to be 'ghettoized' in many ways" morale, size of class, opportunities for travel, etc; in institutions where academic fredom is limited or denied, which is too frequently the case within state colleges, and Negro colleges, the 'ghettoizing' of the institution is complete. Many American teachers never glimpse the process of free inquiry at any point in their college careers.

If we are to remedy the fact of our relegating the education of many of our teachers to badly supported institutions, then we must do two things: first, we must radically enlarge the number of teachers trained at "A," "B," and "C" level institutions, particularly "A" and "B" one (those institutions, as being specially favored of the American public, have special obligations to the common profit). Second, we must raise, to the "C" level and preferably, to the "B" level, all institutions training one hundred or more teachers per year and to the "B" level, all institutions training one hundred or more non-white teachers per year. To do this, we ought to develop, in each state, full scale plans which will represent legislative intent to insure to the nation's schools a competent group of teachers.

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[1] Finis Welch "Measurement of the Quality of Schooling," Economics of Education: Papers and Proceedings of the American Economic Review, LVI (1966), pp. 389-391.

[2] Ed Fenton, Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools (New York, 1966), p. 2.

Undersupport may, in many local institutions, account for the failure of the disciplines, on the local scene, to deliver all that their national power had promised. It may account for the reservations which Mr. Conant found teachers expressing concerning the work which they had in Education, reservations still being expressed.[1] Undersupport creates the sense of loss of mission, the sense of drift, the incapacity to deal with crises and to prepare people who feel a pride of craft. But the fragmenting of responsibility, the placing of power in the hands of agencies who do not feel a primary responsibility for the power they have been given which is described in section i of this paper does the same things. Though Colleges of Education are generally treated by the public and by people in the disciplines as having final responsibility for the education of teachers, the real national power over the education of teachers seems to rest in the hands of the disciplines whose powerful leaders, the executive committees of the professional societies, do not feel a primary obligation to the education of teachers. Though teachers are trained to work in schools, both Colleges of Education and the departments in the disciplines are out of touch with the problems of the schools and school administrations. Though American institutions of Higher Education must ultimately bear a total institutional responsibility for the education of teachers, their chancellors and presidents have not yet taken full responsibility for leading in the creation of total institutional programs or have taken it with uneasy hands. But the crisis of the time and Higher Education's desperate and belated effort to deal with it may gradually move us out of the present situation, where obligation and responsibility are separated from power, and where scapegoats are easily made. It is absolutely necessary that institutions of Higher Education (and the schools in which they find clinical situations) come to be responsible as total institutions for the teachers they train. The disciplines must offer courses which permit teachers to know their stuff. Education must offer professional training which is as relevant as that of the best medical or dental schools. And the schools must offer the clinical settings and the evaluations provided by encounters with the intractable.

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[1]James B. Conant, The Education of American Teachers (New York 1963), pp. 112-145; Glen Robinson (ed.), The American Public School Teacher; 1965-66 reports 80% or more of America's teachers finding their own teacher preparation "poor" or "satisfactory" (not "excellent") in the following areas: psychology of learning and teaching; human growth and development; teaching methods; classroom management; history and philosophy of education; and the use of educational technology. Subject matter specialization fared somewhat better (32.7%, excellent). Only 5.7% of America's teachers indicated that their subject matter preparation had been "poor", while in the six "Education" areas in which information was collected, the "poor" quality figure ranged from 13.2% to 49.2% and averaged 25.2%.

When a teacher emerges from a program, what he knows which he can transmit must be specified as part of a performance credential which has nothing to do with hours. When he emerges from a program, the variety of milieus in which he can operate and the kinds of children with which he can work effectively should be specified in a descriptive credential. And, if a teacher or a bloc of teachers on a staff system wishes to 'add to' such a performance credential, Higher Education and the schools ought to work together on the programs to do so: e.g. the North Dakota State plan, the Mississippi program, parts of the Four-State program, and some of the B2 programs.

It is difficult to know how many teachers could know their stuff in the disciplines, given present training programs. If the disciplines are to continue to determine the subject matter content to be offered to students (the Curriculum Reform movement) and to have the kind of determinative effect upon federally sponsored training programs which they have had, thus far, upon the NSF Institutes, the NDEA Title XI institutes, and the Ex TFP programs, they must be able to assure the nation of two things. First, they must be able to assure the nation that their own departments are on top of the fundamental scholarship which they are proposing that the schools represent in one way or another, that they can represent it in such a way as to allow a pre-service teacher to conceive of how he might teach it in difficult circumstances. Second, they must be able to assure the nation that they will give the teacher instruction which will empower him to use his knowledge the better to understand kids and conditions in the school and community. The disciplines have two uses in the professional education of a teacher: as the source of the curriculum and as the source of understanding of the milieu in which education operates. If the disciplines in the Arts and Science Colleges cannot give us these assurances, we may have to move back from the 'harmonizer's' position to the position of the Bagley's--to give special professional training in the disciplines as related to teaching in the professional school.

Thus far, the disciplines have not been able to give us either assurance very firmly. The evidence from the Axelrod report was that foreign language departments did not very quickly support the Foreign Language Institutes with undergraduate training in language lab techniques and linguistic analysis; the English departments of the country have moved somewhat more quickly toward offering to pre-service teachers the training in linguistics and rhetoric deemed 'basic' to the discipline; between 1960 and 1967, the number of English departments offering the pre-service teacher work in linguistics rose by about 25% (35.5 to 59.6), the number offering 'advanced composition' rose 14% (41% to 55.3%), according to assessments of the professional societies. On the other hand, the figures for such crucial areas as psycholinguistics or dialect analysis are not available; the experience of several federal projects suggests that the figure is infinitesimal. That fairly intensive federal support has produced some

change is encouraging; but that 40% of our institutions, after a period of significant federal support, do not give to English teachers-in-training a representation of what is known about the English language--that about 45% do not tell them what is known about written forms of the language--is telling, indeed.[1] A large scale study of applicants and non-applicants for NSF secondary school in mathematics institutes suggests that science and mathematics departments have not been much more responsible; and observers have suggested that the movement toward a meaningful teaching of chemical bond theories, molecular biology or the fundamentals of mathematics has been no more rapid than the movement toward cogent training in English (10-20% shift estimated).[2] The general position set forth here would also appear to have received implicit support from the president of E. D. C. in his annual report: "Until E. D. C. can exert or influence the pre-service education of teachers, the effective use of E. D. C. materials will fall well below what it might and must be."[3] We do not have such good information on the Social Sciences. But one of the developers of new curricula for history may have spoken for all the curriculum development people and for school people in his complaints about what History has been doing to the public school teachers it trains: "The teacher who would teach history well has got to be trained by the historian, and the historian is not doing his job well. So long as he sees the point of teaching history as simply the communication of conclusions about the past he will not do the job better. He's got to get across to prospective teachers some sense of what history is, not just to what the conclusions of the historians are. The consensus of thinking historians have put it from time immemorial that teachers do not know enough history. It is that they do not 'know' what history is and that they've never been encouraged to think about how it can be used in the growth and development of the human beings they teach."[4]

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[1] James R. Squire, "The Running Water and the Standing Stone," PMLA, LXXXIII (1968), p. 526.

[2] Good summaries of the characteristics of teachers in science and mathematics are to be found in the American Institute of Research's Study, A Study of Non-Applicants and Other Segments of the Secondary School Science and Mathematics Teacher Population, 2 Vols. (Washington, 1962); and Psychometrics Consultants, Attributes of Applicants to National Science Foundation Summer Institutes in 1964, 2 Vols. (Los Angeles, 1964). These reports also suggest the degree to which mathematics and science departments sought the already somewhat trained teacher rather than the untrained one for institute participation. The graduate school syndrome prevailed.

[3] Arthur Singer, Report from the President: E. D. C. (Newton, 1968), p. 7.

[4] Richard H. Brown, "History as Discovery: An Interim Report on the Amherst Project, "quoted in Donald B. Cole and Thomas Pressly (The American Historical Association's Committee on Teaching), The Preparation of Secondary School History Teachers, (Washington, 1968), p. 24.

Those who have endeavored to build new curricula for elementary and secondary students to represent the axioms, the principles of investigation, and the 'grids' according to which a discipline tries to render reality intelligible must feel themselves left somewhat high and dry when they find a portion of their profession unwilling or unable to represent the same things to college students or to teachers-in-service outside of the institute context. Not all of the college faculty members who deliver to teachers-to-be the 'same truths' unchangingly are at AAUP "D," "E," and "F" institutions. The unrest of college students about college teaching may be explicable.

We have suggested that the disciplines must, secondly, be able to assure the nation that they will give the pre-service teacher instruction which will enable him to use his knowledge to understand kids and conditions in school and community. In this regard, the first thing which the disciplines can contribute to the understanding of children is a clear understanding of the language which they bring to school. However, Modern Language Branch testimony in behalf of the Bi-Lingual Education Bill was able to show that an estimated three million children of school age retain the use of a mother tongue other than English: Spanish, American Indian, French, German, Polish, and so forth; and the foreign language and linguistics departments of the country have provided neither bilingual teachers nor 'bi-cultural' materials for such children.[1] The Modern Language Association and other professional groups representing the 'liberal' disciplines did testify in behalf of the bill and are willing to act upon it if it is passed. It has been further estimated that 75-80% of America's Negro students (about three and one-half million students) speak one of the southern rural, or northern urban, dialects of English which is sufficiently removed from their teacher's prestige dialects to cause real problems of communication and difficulty in giving instruction in reading and composition which sees through the child's eyes.[2] An estimated six million of America's forty-one million children face teachers who in a profound sense "do not know their language." Even if the figure is only five million, it is very high.

We have too often failed to give our students who plan to be teachers the opportunity to use the tools which they acquire to study or understand the lives of students who may not be at home with schools: the language, history, culture (even the ethno-science) of poverty and weakness rather than of the wealth and power of dominant and dominating European groups. We have failed to look at the mythology and literature of non-literate peoples

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[1] Figures from testimony given in behalf of Bilingual Education, report of Senate hearing on HR 9840 and HR 10224 (June 28 and 29), pp. 414-415; House hearing on S. 428 (May 18-31), Part I, p. 51.

[2] Estimates furnished by the Center for Applied Linguistics.

and of non-white English speaking sections of the world; we have neglected to investigate and teach the history of Africa and Asia, the history of the abuse of power in the white industrial sections of the world--particularly in their dealings with those people whom they made colonials or slaves; we have not taken cognizance of the work of modern anthropologists and sociologists which would give us some glimpse of the gold of a black and brown world, the suffering and dignity of the wretched of the earth. [1] Most of all, we have not asked that the 'research activities' in the disciplines which are supposed to help students 'understand their own time' really do this with the language, polis, cultural life, and so forth, of the people who might be the students or clients of teachers-to-be. Obviously, many of our students when they go into teaching discover for the first time, in the neighborhoods where teaching is done, that they 'do not understand their own time.'

Perhaps nowhere has less meaningful instruction in the disciplines been given to pre-service teachers than in the training of elementary school teachers. Nowhere has our failure to develop total institutional programs rather than compromises been more obvious. The normal school concentration on the 'skills' needed to teach disguised as a major in Education (Elementary Education or Curriculum and Instruction) is often accompanied by a series of general courses in the liberal arts college. [2] An elementary teacher teaching in a self-enclosed classroom, a middle school teacher teaching either a general or a specialized area, an early childhood teacher with his Dienes rods needs to know a great deal about the fundamentals of mathematics and the fundamental properties of matter; he needs to know about linguistics, dialects, and language acquisition; he needs to know anthropology, sociology, and the way in which the human group operates; he needs to know the fields of learning and behavior. And he needs to be able to apply the insights of these fields to the teaching of reading for instance. Our present schemes for offering courses are so haphazard as to place the teaching of subject matter which bears upon teaching outside the hands of subject matter specialists' consequently, they leave the elementary teacher without a good general education and, certainly, without a knowledge of 'what he needs to know' to master present

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[1] Douglas Oliver, "'Other' Groups and 'our' Children," The Craft of Teaching and the Schooling of Teachers, Report of the Tri-University Project (Denver, Colorado, 1967) pp. 47-56 passim.

[2] Data gathered from descriptions of courses presently being taught to elementary teachers described in applications by teachers-of-teachers applying to a present federal program for teachers-of-teachers.

curricula or to create programs for the individual child adequate to present knowledge.[1]

The situation in which Colleges and Departments of Education presently find themselves is, to some degree, dramatized by an exchange between Professor Jerome Bruner and Dean Harry S. Broudy (and M. C. Wittrock). Mr. Bruner had argued that the knowledge offered in the schools should transcend what is available in the culture and give the child the flexibility and power which he generally acquires when his knowledge has achieved the condition of theory: related propositions about how things will fit together which allow one to look for how they do fit together and, to bear in mind how they did (e.g. 'transformational grammar' is a 'theory' of language). Since theory is best known to the specialist in the field, Mr. Bruner sees no need for the continuation of the Faculty of Education in the traditional sense. 'Pedagogy' is to him the study, germane to any field, of the symbolic activity of clarifying and representing theory:

> There are several conclusions to be drawn from this long excursion into the nature of intellect, into the nature of how one organizes knowledge to fit it. First of all, it becomes necessary to translate bodies of theory into a form that permits the child to get closer and closer approximations to the most powerful form of a theory, beginning with a highly intuitive and active form of a theory and moving on as the child grasps that to a more precise and powerful statement of it. I find no other way of bringing the child through the maze of particulars to the kind of power that would produce the combination of research and development, unpredictable services, and the arts. Second,

[1] Paradoxically, much of the basic and most interesting information available to the disciplines is relevant to what is taught in the elementary school: the fundamentals of mathematics, the study of the fundamental properties of matter or of living matter, the introduction to linguistic description, the analysis of the basic myths of a culture, the analysis of the relationship between the structures of thought in a culture and what is embodied in its social structures, play, and ritual action (Claude Levi-Strauss). Moreover, much of our most sophisticated research work treats of the relationship between what we know about an area and how what we-know-of-the-area is first learned; one may elicit the work of the Bourbaki school of mathematicians connected with the work of Piaget, the work of the MIT linguists and psycholinguists and the Harvard Center for Cognitive Studies (language learning in early childhood), the recent studies by a variety of people of the content, logical and non-logical, of children's games and 'folklore.' Such study is fundamental to elementary education and is being done by people both in Education and in the disciplines.

this means that on a practical level the entire university community--indeed, the entire intellectual community--must have a role in education, that the separate education faculty is a misconception and probably one that requires rearrangement in the future. . . .

As my colleague, Philip Morrison, put it in respect to his field, there are degrees granted by departments of physics in theoretical physics, in experimental physics, and in applied physics. Why not one in pedagogical physics? Teaching is surely an extension of the general exercise whereby one clarifies ideas to oneself. All of us who have worked on curriculum have learned tremendous amounts about our subject matter simply by trying to convert it into a form that would be courteous and comprehensible to a young learner.

Now if this is the case, if we require that there be pedagogical physics and its counterparts, there is surely some need for a special coalition to devise means of teaching the symbolic activity involved in the kind of theory-making we have been discussing. I do not know what to call this coalition of fields; the symbol sciences might be appropriate, but it is an absurd name. Linguists, philosophers of science, philosophers of history, logicians, psychologists, teachers, substantive specialists who most understand the simple structure of their fields, mathematicians--such a coalition might show how a university might express its concern for the symbolic powers inherent in the use of a culture. We obviously do not understand what could be done by a group of this sort. They range all the way from teaching children to be brief and compact when that is needed to hold things in the range of attention, to devising the kind of mathematical program embodied in the report of the Cambridge Conference on School Mathematics (Goals forSchool Mathematics, Houghton Mifflin, 1963). [1]

Mr. Broudy and Mr. Wittock answer, in part, as follows:

Whatever Mr. Bruner thinks of the quality of 2,000,000 or more classroom teachers in the public schools, it would have gone pretty hard with the schools had there not been departments of education, teachers colleges, and schools of

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[1]Jerome Bruner, "Culture, Politics and Pedagogy," SR (May 18, 1968), pp. 89-90.

education in this country during the last half century. No visible alternative for providing classroom personnel in sufficient quantity to man our schools has been developed, despite numerous efforts to do so.

But to get to a more fundamental consideration concerning the viability of schools of education, let us suggest that educational problems--like those of medicine, law, engineering--are concrete, molar problems to the solution of which generalizations from many academic disciplines are relevant. They involve what is now known as inter-disciplinary thinking, apropos of which two observations are in order: one is that the departmental structure of the university is eminently unsuited to this kind of thinking; the other is that professional schools such as schools of law, medicine, and engineering are eminently suited to it, because they always have had to learn to focus diverse disciplines on their special domains. In time, such focusing became a scholarly activity in its own right. Schools of education may not have the prestige of these other professional schools, but they have the same structure.

> The problems of school curricula, goals, organization, and administration, as well as the problems of teaching and learning, are so complex and important that it would be strange indeed if people devoting their total professional time and energies to them were not brought together into schools of education. [1]

What is interesting about the exchange is where the real disagreements lie. For Mr. Bruner argues for the abandonment of the School of Education on the ground that the study of teaching is the study of the discipline and the interdisciplinary study of its representation. Mr. Broudy apparently does not wish to quarrel with Mr. Bruner's notion of the study required but argues that this sort of study cannot be done in the 'departmentalized' university and can in the professional School of Education, and furthermore, the Schools of Education have had the whole task of recruiting 2,000,000 teachers for America's schools. Neither Mr. Broudy nor Mr. Bruner seem to question the notion that we need the person who can do "pedagogical physics" and an administrative context which will allow him to thrive: Mr. Bruner probably would not deny that we must recruit teachers and think about schools and teaching. But behind Mr. Bruner's remarks seems to be the notion that School of Education people do not know enough

[1] Letter of the Saturday Review of Literature (July 20, 1968), p. 43.

about theory to make representations of how theory should be taught. And behind Mr. Broudy's remarks seems to lie the assumption that the universities do not care enough about the schools to think about them or to recruit teachers. This is not the place to discuss whether theory is as significant as Mr. Bruner thinks it is, but, if one takes the exchange as a touchstone, what really appears to be discussed is America's failure to give proper support to Schools of Education (and the concomitant mediocrity of much School of Education staff) and the universities' failure, as a totality, to take responsibility for the recruiting and training of teachers.

Mr. Bruner's implication that our separate Schools of Education have been a mistake may be right. Nevertheless, it is somewhat quixotic. Professional schools are over a century old; they have millions of students and thousands of professors. They will not disappear. Moreover, to accept Bruner's example again, there is no reason why the man in "pedagogical physics" may not be a member of an interdisciplinary group in a School of Education (or a joint appointment in Physics and Education).[1] Mr. Bruner's interdisciplinary group concerned with "symbolizing and representing" ought to be part of an Education faculty. That Education faculties have not been well supported may have kept the "pedagogical physicist" away; that they were once concerned with 'action' may have kept the research person away; but that need no longer be the case. The school's developing concern for accurate knowledge of an organizing sort gives the 'pedagogical physicist" a place, and the crisis of the country gives him a cause.

Mr. Broudy finds the School of Education necessary to recruitment and to thought about the schools. But if recruitment is a function of the role the teacher is asked to assume, it is the total university's business and the school's business-the business of those who can shape what a teacher does and conceptions of what he does. And if interdisciplinary thinking cannot be done in the departmental structure of the university, that structure needs changing.

The School of Education ought not to stand because Higher Education and the disciplines as a whole fail. The educational disciplines have a function in mediating between the frames or 'theory' provided by the disciplines and the immediate situation found in the schools. They ought to be practicum-oriented, oriented toward the clinical school. Or to put it in another way, the study of physics, of pedagogical physics, and the act of teaching physics in Harlem must be regarded as part of a single activity, or simultaneous sets of activities. Traditionally, in the education of teachers, the discipline seemed to offer the 'knowledge,' but it rarely made the application; the 'educational discipline' made the application but at one remove from the frame of the disciplines. And practice teaching allowed for

[1]The question of what competencies teachers-of-teachers have and ought to have will be discussed in another chapter.

the serious application of neither. The study of sociology--of the social order in which a certain neighborhood school operates--and the working out in practicum of the authority system needed in the school ought to be a single operation. The study of non-western cognitive styles in anthropology, the study of the implications of ethnobiological study in educational anthropology, and the act of teaching biology to, say, Navaho children who do not classify according to a Linnean system can be a single "act."

The involvement of the total university in the art of teacher education will not, of itself, heal the breaches between school and university or between education and the alienated communities in America; it will not construct new roles for teachers which can heal those breaches. But some promising developments do suggest that we may be moving in the direction of 'healing.' The whole thrust of the professional education of teachers seems to be in the direction of doing away with the 'methods' course which told people 'how to do things' without asking them to do it and of doing away with student teaching which asked people to do things without asking them to ask themselves why they were doing this. In its place has come a movement in the direction of the clinical school and the clinical teaching situation where the teacher-in-training builds his own learning environment, develops his own curricula, experiments with various 'authority systems' and strategies for giving instruction, and finally looks at what he has done under expert guidance. The tools of videctape and tape record the fine details of teaching; and various grids and schemata for evaluating the thought, language, and feelings of teacher and student--the effectiveness of the teacher--are brought to bear.[1] And with the development of clinical analyses of the teaching situation have gone a whole series of proposals for extending in the clinical school the pre-service teacher's early experience as a teacher from one (or two) years to four years, beginning with teaching in the tutorial relationship and extending it to teaching to small groups and, eventually to large groups as part of a staff each of whose members assumes a distinguishable role. The proposals have also included suggestions for an even earlier development in the student of a sense of what it is to teach through the use of Leicestershire Infant school type classrooms (or similar classrooms for adolescent ages) in which older children 'teach' younger ones.

In such clinical schools, the teacher-in-training receives his 'performance credential.' The clinical school, as it has been described by its advocates, may do a meaningful job of putting back together the cleavages which have developed between the schools and people in Education. It may do so meaningfully, in tough situations where teachers-to-be can develop

[1]Such techniques work best with 'lecture' and fairly organized school formats where the teacher is in the 'it' position; they may work less well in situations where children are allowed to explore fairly freely, to talk to one another and move about, so as to examine freely an environment full of things politically comprehensible not wanting to be comprehended.

a rebel's sense and a sense of intellectual autonomy. However, these schools may become simply another rather over-simple panacea with the clinical professor as a fake miracle worker, unless the school systems of America are willing to take risks with these schools and, also, allow the roles and modes of operating which teachers-to-be learn in the new schools to be extended to conventional schools.[1] And, many institutions of Higher Education will be taking risks as whole institutions in schools like these 'clinical schools' in such projects as the National TTT project. They will endeavor to develop a new sense of their research and teaching offices in relation to the schools.

Clinical schools are expensive to equip and cumbersome logistically. They must be located in a variety of kinds of neighborhoods and permit experimentation with a variety of 'classroom' (or school) formats and systems for giving children instruction, or they will come to be as meaningless as the model schools. They must permit all kinds of professors from Higher Education to offer their insights in them. In some neighborhoods an anthropologist, a linguist, a sociologist, may be of more help than a learning theorist.

Any movement from Higher Education into the schools to give classes, to analyze teaching, to analyze neighborhoods and kids--whether it be called clinical school work or not--should permit the development of really meaningful undergraduate work in the disciplines for the teacher-in-training. That is, such a movement should permit him in study, research and practicum-teaching to bring insights from a broad range of disciplines to bear on the job of teaching. At least one institution has begun a program to allow the student to build up his own curriculum on the basis of his perceptions of what he needs to study as determined by experiences in clinical ghetto schools.

The clinical professorship and clinical school may also become an oversimple panacea if they do not require of all members of the Faculty of Education a meaningful amount of experience each year in teaching in the schools and interpreting the more difficult sorts of school experience. With this movement outward by Education could go a collateral outward movement on the part of undergraduate faculties in the disciplines similar to present volunteer movements into the schools by ordinary lay people eager to tutor children. In such programs, professors in the disciplines learn how to suggest undergraduate studies in their fields which also illumine the work of the schools, and of the teacher. It is important that

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[1] For a wholesome set of cautionary remarks, see E. K. Fretwell's discussion in The Clinical Professorship in Teacher Education, ed. William R. Hazard (Evanston, 1967), pp. 65-67.

men in the disciplines at every station where teaching is done in Higher Education learn what the schools are about. About 40% of America's undergraduate students in institutions of Higher Education are pre-service teachers; they are a sufficiently large bloc to deserve special consideration in all administrative units where they are found. One may set aside the question of the degree to which the training of teachers determines what happens in the schools and what Higher Education can do and still see the pre-service instruction of teachers as the most important thing which American Higher Education does.

What we have said about the pre-service relationship between Education and the disciplines, about the relationship between Higher Education and the schools, and between the person and the system can be applied also to in-service programs. In-service education depends on our developing a meaningful sense of what are the more sophisticated sorts of intellectual and personal competencies required in getting through to children and creating programs to develop these competencies. We do not have at present a sense of what these skills are. They are different from the administrative ones which are commonly the reward of advanced degrees and long labor in the classroom. One thing further in-service programs will require, and that is a new humility on the part of Higher Education as, offering training out in the schools, it develops a sense of the limitations of what it has to say to the schools and learns, once more, to listen to them and to the neighborhoods in which teachers work.

## II. TARGETED EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS AND ACCESS TO TEACHER TRAINING

Meeting educational needs necessitates the providing of easier access for minority groups to specialized programs designed to meet value commitments that are not presently being recognized by teacher-training institutions.

## II. Targeted Education for Teachers and Access to Teacher Training

GEORGE DENEMARK: The notion that higher education ought to be a step to better things for everyone has perhaps complicated our problem. If it is assumed that we ought to have a diversified program fitting the interests of most everybody who wants to come, programs become too generalized, touching only a bit upon specific concerns and needs in specialized areas but attempting to be easily accessible and convenient to all. In Kentucky, for example, such a view is likely to produce pressure to keep the University of Kentucky in the business of preparing more secondary social studies and English teachers simply because parents in the Blue Grass region want their sons or daughters to go to UK rather than to one of the regional universities further from home. As a consequence, we have too often watered down programs to a level of generality that makes them ill fitted to meet certain specific needs and have produced an oversupply of teachers in some fields by accepting the concept that each institution must offer a full program in all fields.

At the graduate level in fields like school administration there is no reason for having so many institutions offering programs. Having nearly every university offering such programs guarantees that few students will get a quality education because limited resources have been spread too thin. Yet the notion of being able to "run around the corner" and get six easy credits remains a dominant one in thinking about higher education.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: You speak of a suburban middle class group which from your perspective is not willing to develop the agendas, or acquiesce to the agendas, which would improve the education of teachers. There are groups who are quite hopeful about what can happen in education. If you look at Crystal City, at what happened in Riverside about a month and a half ago, and at what is happening in Oxnard, (ed. note: each of these towns had marked community interaction--demonstrations, etc.--having to do with improving education), you discover that the Mexican-American communities are indicating, in rather marked ways, support for their conception of public education, which, of course, is not that of the system or the Establishment. If we started to break that down the question of who is interested in improving education, the question of public support would come out a little differently. For instance, one of the major thrusts of the civil rights movement among the Mexican-Americans is in the area of education. And what the Mexican-American community that I know wants is not necessarily what the middle class reformer wants: open schools, etc. The communities I know have a different set of needs. I would argue that different constituencies will support different kinds of public education. The new power blocs which are hopeful about and supportive of public

education may not be the power blocs which control education at the present time in the country, but I think this question of who is backing away from public education and who is supporting it has to be broken down further.

PAUL OLSON: Are you saying we should analyze what constituencies will support what kind of education and what kinds of education for teachers?

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: That is right. There was a massive walkout in Los Angeles several years ago. The situation there is still on the verge of explosion, and the kids are now getting into the act; recently in Riverside 250 Mexican-American kids walked out, and they had their list of demands. Throughout the Southwest there is a high degree of communality. Students and parents want teachers who can relate to them, who are bilingual; they want counsellors who understand their background--this sort of thing. So the answer to your question is, "Yes."

VITO PERRONE: I think that the data gathering about who will support what kind of education and require what kind of skills in teachers has to be done in ways other than those that have traditionally been used. One can ask people what they want and need in contexts which provide little information upon which to make decent judgments. I continue to deal with school administrators and people in state departments of education who say, "We have done all of those kinds of things, and this is what the people want. We have asked them, 'Do you want more counsellors?' and they say, 'Yes'." But I ask them, "How many of the people whom you asked about counselors know what counsellors do or don't do; I have gone back to some of the same people to whom the administrators talked, have added four or five more questions, and found out the people didn't want counsellors at all. What they wanted was something else. We have gathered information badly.

I also have to react to the notion of targeted teacher training as George Denemark has described it. I am meeting many people who are saying, "We really have to stop the easy access in certain fields because the market is flooded; hence, we ought to move particular programs to the University of Kentucky or the University of North Dakota and curtail programs at all of those 'easy access' institutions." But there are large numbers of people who have had no easy access for a long period of time. The Mexican-American, for example, has had little access. At a time when he is having his first educational opportunity we have people saying, "We had better close it off now." I have an uncomfortable feeling that we may be closing off access to a variety of educational areas. There may be pressure to make entry into professional education more exclusive at a time when minority groups are just now beginning to see themselves in positions of power in education.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: If we look just at teachers and ignore pre-service training, we must ask questions about who is being selected for the pre-service training: about the value frameworks that lead to GRE scores, about the cost to the student of education itself, or about the attitudes and biases of the College of Education or Department of Education selection committee. I find this, in my situation, of considerable concern. Few in

the School of Education who are seriously interested in education are members of groups other than that of Main Street America. The Non-Main Streeters are moving into other departments where the doors are wide open or relatively more open; among the Mexican-American students, I find that law, sociology, medicine, and political science are the thing. Why? Because they find models in these areas on television in "Storefront Laywers", on the streets where they find the medical doctor who is working in the community, etc. The recruitment publicity of teachers colleges includes little that would attract minority group members. The manner in which the College of Education is publicized or presented has an exclusive tone to it. You either fit 'one acceptable model' or you do not. Consider one item that frequently appears in the publicity: the notion of the 'master teacher.' The notion of the master teacher is a cultural hang-up. Some teachers are good with some kids and not good with others, but there are no omni-skilled 'master teachers'. Even this concept, which reeks of elitism, may turn off potentially useful people in the field of education.

GEORGE DENEMARK: I agree fully with opening up further access to some groups. At the same time I think the quantity of teachers produced through the needless duplication of programs simply to meet political aspirations and status aspirations of institutions has in reality often guaranteed the inadequacy and mediocrity of programs. We already have lots of teachers who have been inadequately trained. I despair that we will ever be able to adequately differentiate programs to meet some of the special needs we have been discussing--early childhood, bilingual, inner city, handicapped, etc.--if we assume that every institution has to have a full range of such programs and can provide a quality offering in each of them. Instead we are going to have to achieve coordinated planning; we are going to have to make use of coordinating councils on higher education and on teacher preparation to insure a quality job of teacher training. And such coordination aimed at quality standards may mean that teacher preparation in certain fields can only be supported in two or three or five colleges in a given state rather than in thirty or forty as is often the case.

VITO PERRONE: As long as we do not use that as a way of further entrenching traditional concepts and traditional values, I agree. I personally am having a lot of problems with "maintenance of standards." To "maintain standards" for many people, it is necessary to move everything to the university. We might end up "maintaining standards" at the expense of diversity.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Let me anticipate some of the issues that will arise if our intuition is borne out by reality. There is no general acceptance of cultural pluralism as a basic value commitment. That means that personnel in education who are interested in promoting that notion have to do so in ways designed to gain broader acceptance of some departure from a completely "free market" which would have educational programs simply reflect the perceived needs of the dominant cultural groups.

Education is presently confronted by a dilemma resulting from the fact that institutions which seek to respond to social needs by providing open access programs determined largely by the number of students en-

rolling are likely to be prevented from meeting or generating certain other needs because of limited resources. Too frequently our resources are expended entirely in employing new staff members to train more nice young ladies from the local area to teach high school social studies when instead we should be utilizing them to expand and improve training programs in special education, teaching urban disadvantaged, and other critical areas. We seem to accept too easily the notion that public education's chief commitment is to provide convenient access to every kind of program. Perhaps now we must recognize the necessity of making choices and of channeling support into preparation programs that will meet critical societal needs even if such decisions at times result in inconvenience for some. Colleges may have to decide against doing more of some things that the pressure of the open market of student enrollments would dictate in order to do more of the things that provide access, but access to different segments of the population than would have been provided otherwise.

For the last three years I have recommended to our university administration the imposing of some restrictions on admission to certain teacher education areas--areas my colleagues and I felt were already more than meeting the demand for new teachers--in order to enable us to do certain other things. Until this year the response to such a recommendation was to "exhaust all other alternatives first." Perhaps we are just beginning to move away from budgeting procedures which center on counting heads and allocating dollars on standard enrollment formulae. Until colleges move further from an automatic response to an enrollment free market and focus instead upon planned objectives they are likely to continue having difficulty for currently available resources do not permit them to reflect adequately some of their important value concerns.

PAUL OLSON: This seems implicit in your notion of what undergraduate higher education might be about: whereas the institution in the past has been primarily oriented toward fulfilling upwardly mobile status aspirations of individual persons who come into the institution--which is very likely what the graduate college does, what the liberal arts college and many other parts of the university do--at least the preparation of educational personnel should be, in a genuine sense, a service function of the university; it should prepare personnel, maybe in groups, but at least prepare the personnel in terms of specifically recognized community needs, needs specific to an area--needs, say, created by the meeting of the dominant culture and other non-dominant cultures.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Yes. Rather than using thirty more secondary social studies applicants as a basis for adding another staff member in that field we should determine that we are not going to prepare more students in that area. Instead, we might decide to prepare additional personnel in early childhood education, in special education, or for working in inner city schools. This would represent a departure from the notion that colleges should simply reflect what their "customers" want. Legislators, higher education councils and university administrators must provide support for planning and implementing programs that reflect important societal needs rather than personal preferences exclusively.

## III. ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is discussed in terms of making the schools responsible to the power structures of particular communities not at present represented in the institutions.

Wax approaches the problem by looking at the way in which chil_ren are presently "processed" contrasting it with the learning which arises out of peer association. He sees accountability in terms of responsiveness to the student himself.

Keniston and Gerzon in an essay entitled "Human and Social Benefits" argue that "the human and social effects of higher education constitute benefits and, increasingly, prerequisites for the maintenance of a society that is not only technological and prosperous, but also open, pluralistic, and democratic." Petr in his review of this essay also wants to make higher education accountable to society but cautions against assuming 1. that our present society desires liberalization 2. that the liberalized student will relate intelligently to societal change or 3. that adaptation of human structures is the only possible response to accele rating change.

## III. Accountability

### A. The Concept of Accountability

VITO PERRONE: I am beginning to come into contact, locally and nationally, with arguments about "accountability"; it is all too frequently another defense mechanism, another way of building an exclusive condition, another way of further entrenching traditional values and traditional systems. The notion of accountability sometimes goes like this: "You know, we really cannot afford to open up a program for Indian students, whereby they ultimately become teachers in classrooms with Indian children, possibly using the native language or beginning with the native language, because the children they teach will not produce well enough on a standardized reading test to meet some preconceived standard of performance at the third, fourth or fifth grade level." That is one way of saying, "Better that we not deal with the issue of bilingualism, because children won't perform well enough on some preconceived standard. Hence, there is no compelling reason to have a Mexican-American or an Indian in the classroom. It could just as well be a white person who indeed teaches English and doesn't get the other languages mixed in the process."

I see accountability being used as a way of maintaining a traditional set of educational assumptions, predetermined levels of performance, generally based on where we have been and not on the possibilities of where we might go. And in the name of accountability new programs are often compared against systems that are no longer viable. New programs ought to be allowed to stand on their own and be judged apart from the traditional norms, expected outcomes and so forth.

DEAN CORRIGAN: Vito (Perrone) is raising a basic question for the Study Commission: Most, if not all, of the Commissions in teacher education that I know about have assumed the present, if not the past--the recommendations in Teachers for the Real World are rooted in terms of present schools, the problem of urban centers, now. The question, however, is how we can prepare teachers, politically and socially, so that they have frameworks for analyses of problems which do not yet exist. Some of our study commissions have not looked at that problem; they have not postulated the year 2000: "If the year 2000 is going to be like this, what kind of education will be needed?" That is a different and necessary framework: yet the pressure for one kind of accountability forces us more and more to a present, if not a past, orientation. (Ed. note: Mr. Corrigan is advocating a shift to "future concerns" of such writers as Toeffler, Illich and others; cf. Corrigan's articles below).

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: I came here from the U.S. Office of Education Auditors Institute. I was on a panel with education auditors who are

auditing Title VII programs, Title III programs, and so on. The main theme of the conference was the notion of accountability, and the position that many of us advocated was that the notion of accountability had to be an open one. If we look at education and accountability within the framework of a pluralistic conception of what society ought to be, all groups and constituencies have to participate in the definition of accountability; we have to say who is accountable to whom and for what purposes. From my own point of view, part of the issue, of course, is a historical one: cultural pluralism versus the various forms of the melting pot ideology we have had in this country.

DEAN ORR: If you talk about accountability and education audit as making some kind of determination that indeed Title I and ESEA funds are being spent for disadvantaged kids, then that is the kind of accountability I am all for. If someone says they are going to do something, and you agree that they get the money because of what they said they were going to do, then certainly there should be some means to make some determination as to whether they indeed did what they said they were going to do. I have seen in many urban areas what I consider to be a gross misuse of Title I money, and Title III money, and COP money, simply because people are not doing what they said they were going to do when they wrote a proposal or developed a plan.

VITO PERRONE: I support the kind of accountability which asks projects and programs to spend their money where they say they will.

B. Power Relationships: Accountability, Accessibility, and Constituencies:

DEAN CORRIGAN: Many of these issues--Alfredo's [Castaneda] talk about the constituency and their response to present problems, the question of accountability, and the notion of accessibility--are closely related. When we talk about a constituency supporting and investing in the future of the country by supporting their schools, we need--if we look at the constituencies and what is happening to the country--to realize that what the various constituencies are willing to do with money constitutes a more complex problem than can be dealt with merely by looking at the economic situation in the country. Legislatures around the country are looking at proposals to make a person take out a loan for thirty years to pay for his own education; that the people do not feel enough faith in the future to pay now for education for those who will lead the country in the future suggests that many people may have given up on the future. It may be that many people in the country, in facing our fantastic problems--pollution, war, racism--have said, "To hell with the future; there isn't going to be a future; why invest in it?" If I have described what people feel about the future, then this situation poses some questions for those talking about how to prepare teachers. "Training teachers" may not simply be a matter of turning the country around; it may be a matter of helping to regain some faith in the future. If we have to reconstruct hope, that implies a framework for planning educational change different from that implicit in normal bureaucratic planning. We need, it

seems to me, to get some information on the total future prospect rather than just feedback on how many teachers are needed. What is the tone of the country regarding its future and how does that relate to education?

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: I understand you to be talking about the sense of hopelessness which pervades the country or seems to pervade much of it. Yet that has to be broken down, too, because in a sense many minority groups have lived with racism, pollution--all of these other things-- but they do not now display the kind of despair and hopelessness that you are talking about. In the Mexican-American population, I find a sense of hope: "Look, maybe now we can do something." What they react to (or what I find myself reacting to) is, "Gee, now that we have one of our first opportunities, there is a general sense of hopelessness about the future of the country."

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I see this in power terms. There is a segment of the country that is losing faith in the future because they are losing control. They don't have faith in the future because it is not going to be their future anymore--in terms of power. The usual notion of accountability implies that it will be a kind of weapon used by a group that has controlled the schools (and a lot of other things) to try to maintain control, to maintain continuity, to keep their people in the positions of teacher and principal and school committee member. To return to statistics, perhaps we need to get statistical information about the representation of different consituencies in power positions across the country in different school systems so that we can see where the changes are coming, where new constituencies are represented in power positions, what kind of issues are being raised and the response of school systems in those communities.

VITO PERRONE: The notion of trying to gather much more data on how education is managed is revolutionary because you are really striking at the power base of much of American education. Educational literature abounds with the rhetoric of change. Yet, the practice doesn't change very much. That may well speak to how education is managed. There ought to be some systematic study of the management of education in various sections of the country. There have been some limited studies. One that comes to mind dealt with the schools in Massachusetts and looked at the values held by boards of education as well as by superintendents. A reading of that study suggests that all the rhetoric about change can just go right on. It won't may any difference, given the value orientations of those responsible for decision making.

WILLIAM HICKS: In the South, the black power structure in the public school system is on its way out. In my own state, five or six years ago, there were 150 black principals of elementary and secondary schools. Today there are probably fewer than twenty. The others have been phased out. There is a general tendency toward phasing out black teachers in schools that have been integrated; persons who have served school systems for years have been found to be incompetent because of school desegregation. There are, then, teachers who have no place to go at the present time.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: Since we are talking about using systematically gathered information to help assess needs and will at least partly, design teacher education programs to meet those needs, I want to emphasize again that we collect meaningful information. For some time the Mexican-Americans said to the census takers, "Please label us as of Mexican descent because we don't know how many we are throughout the United States." For a long time the public image of the Mexican-American was that he was a rural type, a migrant laborer, and all kinds of money went into the migrant education. Then the statistics started to come out, showing that eighty per cent of us are urban dwellers. There we have a situation where vast sums went into migrant education, but now the urban schools are catching the furor. I am pleading for more differentiated statistics, and unless some kind of notion that men are more than rootless, cultureless ciphers is a guiding framework, these statistics will not be reflecting what is going on out there.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: If we are to have decent information about institutions and develop undergraduate programs in them, we ought to look at some schools and find out what the cultural or ethnic backgrounds of the teachers are and ask what is the correlation between that information and the information which we gather about the origins of the power structure within the system and within the city; then we should look at how all that correlates with the community. In developing institutions, we need, I think, to develop a better correlation between the community and the people staffing the school system or at least to make commitments and backgrounds more explicit. This is one place to start: Who is admitted? Who is hired on the faculty of our schools?

WILLIAM HICKS: While that may be helpful, I don't think that you can change institutions very easily unless you change legislatures, state boards of education and boards of regents because these are the people who tend to dictate the climate within which our education officials operate. So I think the focus should be in these directions also.

PAUL OLSON: In Pine Ridge and in some communities in Western Nebraska, until recently, most of the Sioux kids came to school speaking Lakota but there were no Lakota-speaking teachers. There was a Sioux dropout rate of 60- 100% in those Western Nebraska schools. It seems to me that the function of the educational institutions in those communities was explicitly not to serve Sioux children. Custer's life is still being paid for. The schools served the needs of a powerful group, perhaps of certain wheat growers in that section of the state who needed to feel that the land promised to the Sioux in the 1868 treaty and again later had been taken away from them for good reason--"An Indian is just a natural incompetant; they can't learn any skill except skill with the hands."[1]

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[1] cf. Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind, on logical operations and non Western societies.

The thoughts which I attribute to our elites may not be altogether conscious. In any case, the power agendas that are involved in educational institutions and protected by those who create the climate in which they function need to be very explicit. We might as a study group, as Joan Goldsmith and Bill Hicks have suggested, develop some notion of the relationships among the governing boards of particular institutions, their curricula, and the amount of movement toward self-development in a particular community that the governing board would tolerate. That will help us in determining where institutional development money should go.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I agree with Dr. Hicks' point concerning educating the legislature. But I think perhaps the best way to educate them is to go from the other end, and that is to make them accountable to the grassroots. That means working on a grassroots level to help people see the power they have to make the legislature accountable to them and their needs. One of the dangers of a place like Harvard and a lot of large institutions is that they have things to say, and because they say them, they are adopted, rather than because people have experienced them. Funding a small community college that is directly accountable to the Navajo Nation, for example, changes the whole orientation of who is accountable to whom. But if the Navajo people can make the Arizona State Legislature accountable to their needs, then we have some real shifting going on.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: An example in Los Angeles: There is a move on the part of the state legislature to gerrymander the Mexican-American district there, which is supposed to have the largest population outside of Mexico City, so that there can be no congressional legislative representation. I wouldn't know how to approach that.

# How Should Schools Be Held Accountable?[1]

by

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I want to talk with you today about the strange and wonderful processes that occur among children and which from the point of view of adult observers manifest themselves as learning. I want to do this in order to help illuminate the issue that is being so hotly debated these days of school accountability, so that, speaking frankly, I can show you how poor and even irrelevant are most of the standards of accountability that are being offered to the educational public. At the same time, I want to make clear that my own knowledge is of a special and peculiar sort. I am not an educational psychologist, although I do consider myself a student of education and the schools. I suppose the best classification for a person such as myself is as a Social Anthropologist, and the kinds of schools which I have studied most intensively are the schools that serve American Indian children.

If I had to use a particular imagery for the analysis of most programs of accountability with regard to schools, I would say that the appropriate image is that of the factory -- the mass production factory. In this imagery, the individual children are the raw materials to be processed, and they move through the school grade by grade. In each school-grade, each child is subjected to a certain kind of processing, and when he leaves the school, presumably on being graduated, he is certified with a stamp, or diploma, testifying as to the nature of the processing by which he has been shaped and formed. In this image, the child is regarded as a sort of empty vessel, which is to be filled with the appropriate kinds of knowledge and experience by the educational processes of the school.

My description of the school as a kind of factory that works with children as its raw material may impress some of you as being excessively crude, but my intention at the moment is not to shock with such an imagery but to be as accurate as I can in revealing the assumptions of certain kinds of positions. The real facts about some real schools are often so appalling, that we should avoid exaggerating whenever we can.

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[1] Another version of this article will appear in the January 1972 issue of The Urban Review, a publication of the Center for Urban Education, New York.

So then, without exaggeration, I want to ask what is wrong and misleading about the image of a school system as a kind of factory that works with children, processing them as its raw material. The first thing that has to be emphasized is that children are not passive subjects or empty vessels. If they were passive, the best that we could do would be to operate like psychologists do with pigeons and rats, we could train them. And, of course, children are always subjected to some training. But by and large, children are both too talented and too rebellious--too gifted and too plain onery--to submit to much training. What we want from our children, and what our children will permit us to want of themselves, is something much more intricate and marvelous than simple training.

Training implies that we as adults and superordinates do things to children which cause them to modify their behavior. But most of the more interesting and fascinating learning that is done by children happens under a different kind of impetus. Children actively seek to learn; parents, educators, and other adults can merely assist them in their drive to learn. (As adults,) we can expose them to various bodies of skill and knowledge, but the learning is done by the children as active, exploratory creatures, not as passive subjects.

The best of such active exploratory learning is language. Except for a very small minority of retarded children, all children learn to speak a language. Among some peoples, children learn to speak several languages quite competently prior to the age of ten. Most of the learning that children do in acquiring oral fluency in a language has occurred and still occurs outside of educational institutions and apart from the conscious efforts of educators. Even today we still do not know much about the processes by which a child learns to speak his native language or languages. The one thing that we can be sure about is that most descriptions of learning simply do not do justice to the process. We do know that the acquisition of language is certainly a matter of something far more intricate and interesting than a mechanical process of repetition (or stimulus-response) learning.

But the process does not end there. For it is not simply a matter that a language exists, like some abstract form established in the heavens, and that children learn that form as it has been established. But rather that children speaking together, playing together, and interacting with adults, are themselves helping to mold and shape the course of the language. All of us who speak a language share in the process by which that language is modified and develops, and even young children are here influential.

As compared to the complexity of the task of learning to speak a language, all the tasks presented by schools to children are simply child's play. This includes the central task of literacy--reading and writing.

For a child who has learned to speak a language, and who has thus acquired a proficiency in its phonemic, grammatical and syntactical structures, learning to read that language is a minor exercise. Indeed, schools can scarcely devise tasks that are intellectually difficult enough for the children who attend them. The limitations on what can be learned are not inherent in the mental abilities of the children.

The foregoing may sound incredibly idealistic and even utopian to the educators and administrators who are being crushed with such tasks, for example, as that of raising the reading levels of children who are classified as being in the 6th grade but who are performing at the level of the 3rd grade and who seem, year by year, and grade by grade, to achieve less and less in their school work. Faced with large blocks of children in this condition--numerous classrooms, even schools, and entire school districts--it is little wonder that some educational administrators and some organizations of concerned parents have advocated turning to the teams of educational specialists who guarantee achievement by their childish clientele and who advertise their wares in terms of accountability.

As a social researcher, the question that raises itself to me is a different one. If children have the capacities for learning so much--and so much more than most of them are doing in our schools--then how is it that schools and educators have so much difficulty in instructing their pupils in the matters which I have claimed are so elementary. Why is it that after a dozen years in attendance such large numbers of children are leaving school still unable to read, or to write, or to reckon arithmetically--those most basic of scholastic skills.

Let me begin my response to this question by referring to some critical items that I do not want to spend a lot of time discussing because I'm not an authority on them, but which we, as educators or parents or researchers, can ignore only at extreme peril. What I have in mind are matters of health and nutrition, sense and motor abilities. We can only expect children to learn and to develop their capacities if they are properly nourished and have at least the rudiments of health care. We should be able to take these for granted, but unfortunately we are not able to do so. One of the unnoticed advantages of the federal day schools serving Indian children is that these schools serve their pupils one hot nourishing meal per day, as well as providing a snack of fruit juice in the morning. I have had Sioux Indian children of the Pine Ridge Reservation explain to me that they had perfect attendance because this was how they got fed through the course of the school year. It will come as no surprise to you that many Sioux children lose weight during the summer months when school is not in session. It will also come as no surprise to you to learn that, for some

Indian parents and their children, boarding school comes to be regarded favorably, simply because the child who attends boarding school will then receive three meals a day. Socially and emotionally, boarding schools may be less than satisfactory as environments for raising children, but when it comes to the matter of hunger and malnutrition, these schools have strong positive appeals to poor people.

Where Indian children attend public (rather than federal) schools a rather nasty stunt is sometimes played upon them in the small towns and rural regions of Oklahoma, the Dakotas, and the Southwest. The federal government grants funds to the schools in order to provide the impoverished Indian children with a lunch, but frequently the administrators force the Indian children to work in the school lunchroom in order to earn this meal, and I have only too often encountered the anomaly of a child being forced to work for two hours for a meal priced at about 25¢.

But let us put aside these considerations of nutrition, and let us also put aside considerations of health and welfare, and whether or not the child is able to see and hear and move properly for the undertaking of his school work.

Let us ask about what is occuring within the classrooms of these schools. Again, let me begin with schools serving Indian children. In these classrooms, what I and other observers have repeatedly discovered is that the children simply organize themselves so that the effective control of the classroom passes in a subtle fashion into their hands. Where schools are divided by grade levels, the process begins about the third grade and is then characterized by fights and commotion and what children call "picking on"--"he's picking on me"--but by the sixth grade the process is extraordinarily far advanced. In consequence, a person may enter a 7th or 8th grade classroom of Indian children, sit there for hours, and, during the whole time, hear nothing but the voice of the teacher. When I have talked with teachers and educators about it, they tell me that "Indian children are shy", but if the observer knows what to look for, he will perceive that the reticence of the Indian children has nothing to do with personal shyness and everything to do with the relationship between the child and his peers in that classroom. For the Indian children in the classroom exert on each other a quiet but powerful pressure so that no one of them is willing to collaborate with the teacher, as in most cases the teacher has become defined by the children as an outsider, an intrusive troublesome meddlesome authority; and the schoolchildren respond by encasing themselves in the armor of the peer society. They organize themselves to resist the pressures of the educator, so that in confronting the children, he finds himself facing a blank wall.

Although I have described the peer society of the Indian schoolchildren as if it were antagonistic to the school tasks, this is not necessarily the case. What the children primarily resist is the authority of the teacher and his (or her) intervention into their collective lives. How they feel about educational tasks may vary considerably, depending upon the particular teacher and school, the particular activity engaging their attention, or even how the teacher and his class happen to strike each other that particular hour and day.

I and my colleagues have seen classrooms where the children respond as if they were in a factory and they were reluctant factory hands. As you know, many curricular assignments are designed to have a cummulative effect: first the child does lesson one, and, having performed that lesson, he is now ready for lesson two, which assumes his intellectual mastery of lesson one; and, having performed both those lessons, he is now ready for lesson three. There is a sequence and it is designed to be cummulative and irreversible. Now in many of the Indian classrooms, the children resist the cummulation. If the teacher gives them a task, shows them how to do it, and starts them doing it, they may in fact go ahead and perform the task. But, if the teacher expects that learning will occur via the performance of the task, and that these learnings will cummulate, he soon finds himself disillusioned. For the children play the role of the factoryhands only too well: they will go through any set of motions, but they will evade real intellectual participation.

Some Indian classrooms appear to an educator to be considerably worse because of the absence of control but educationally they are considerably better. These are the isolated one room classrooms described by anthropologists such as Harry Wolcott or by Ronald and Evelyn Rohner. In such classrooms, to the horror of the conventionally trained teacher, the notion of individual work and of individual student responsibility simply disappears. A problem or an examination given to one child may be performed with the assistance of several other older children. The exhortations of the teacher that work should be done alone and that collaborative efforts are cheating simply fall on the deaf ears of the society of the children. And Wolcott confesses sadly at the end of his book that although he taught for a school year in this particular school, he did not know at the time that he left what were the real levels of performance of most of the Indian pupils.

Most educators who hear of this situation are shocked, and yet I would argue that it exhibits something of great value which we have lost by structuring our schools as if they were factories to process young children in identical blocks. Throughout most of human history, the natural way by which children have acquired skills and knowledge is not

from the generation of adults but from the society of children just a few years older than themselves. The child of eight years of age has modeled himself upon and sought to acquire the knowledge of the child of ten; the child of ten years of age has in turn modelled himself upon the child of twelve or thirteen, and so on. In this process the older children have assisted and educated and been responsible for the younger ones. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, the children have ganged together, the older and more experienced children have assumed leadership, and the gang as a whole has been a joint learning society.

The same phenomenon still occurs today in the streets of our urban slums and ghettoes, but in most cases it is judged negatively by those in authority, because only too often the skills and knowledge which are transmitted from the older children to the younger are those which concern delinquent and even criminal activities. And yet if we could harness to positive educational tasks even a small part of this natural system of learning, we might create an educational revolution.

While lowerclass children have simply and stubbornly retreated from the schoolrooms to their corner gangs, middleclass children have during the past decade astounded educators, civic authorities, and the mass media by their conflicts with our system of higher education. We are all familiar with the slogans and demands that have accompanied these confrontations, the occupations of school buildings, and general disturbances. But I find it highly significant that a constant theme of those youngsters who report their experiences in these events is the feeling of fellowship, cameraderie, and true learning, that characterized their participation. Over and over again, these students report on the warm and positive feelings that they experienced toward their fellow activitists and on the intensity of the learning experiences that occurred, say in the midst of the occupations, or in the plottings prior to a confrontation.

In these words, these youngsters--and they often are extremely talented persons--are telling us something of critical significance about the educational institutions which they have been encountering. In order to have a true learning experience with their peers, they had to organize a rebellion.

Here is not the time or place to enter into a prolonged discussion of student activism and the New Left. I am sure that everyone in this audience has opinions--often strong opinions--about these student protests. Instead, what I have been directing your attention toward is a large scale social phenomenon: the natural ways in which children construct with each other a society of young people, and that this society constitutes a major vehicle for active learning. Whether it is the society of Indian youngsters on an isolated rural reservation, or a gang of adolescents in an urban slum,

or a commune of middleclass political activists adjacent to a modern university--in all these cases we are dealing with children who are rejecting the attempt of the school to deal with them as if they were the passive and individual subjects of an educational factory. In different ways and in different formats, these children are confronting the educational system as organized members of a social group.

Insofar as educational and civic authorities may be critical and hostile to these organized societies of young people, they ignore something of great importance pointed out long ago by the great Swiss social psychologist, Jean Piaget. Piaget discovered that the peer association of young persons was the natural matrix for their coming to understand and appreciate the nature of law and of justice. By playing with their peers in such natural contexts as games, young children learn the meaning of rules and the necessity for fixing them and abiding by them. Other social psychologists, both since and prior to Piaget, men as prominent as George Herbert Mead, Erich Fromm, and Harry Stack Sullivan, have agreed with this analysis; Fromm and Sullivan, in particular, have warned about the disturbed mental development of children who have not had the opportunities for this kind of peer association; these children do not develop strong notions of rules and justice, and they mature into amoral isolated individuals who can become great problems to their fellow men.

If you have been following the course of my argument so far, you will have realized that what I am contending is that the failures of our schools in educating large numbers of their pupils have nothing whatsoever to do with the difficulty of the educational tasks in question. These children are continually engaged in learning things which require far greater alertness and energy. Nor is this failure on the part of the schools a matter of the cultural deprivation or disadvantage of the pupils; nor is it a matter of the personal inadequacies or incompetencies of the educators. The schools are failing because they are designed as factories, and the children organize themselves to resist the imposition of factory norms and factory attitudes. Schools can be operated successfully as if they were factories, but only if the goals are that the schools be custodial institutions whose educational orientation is to do a minimal amount of training. Schools cannot be operated successfully as factories if our goals are educational and developmental, because for education and development we require the active and enthusiastic participation, not merely of the individual pupil, but of the society of the pupils.

Insofar as systems of accountability and of related reform approach the schools with the notion of transforming them into even more efficient versions of factories, they are simply laying the groundwork for even more trouble. If the peer societies of school youngsters are already badly

alienated from the schools and cynical about their goals, then these new procedures which appear technically more efficient, will simply result in even deeper alienation and graver social disorder.

The same negative consequences attach to the systems, such as Head Start, which are designed to subject children at earlier and earlier ages to the institutional regime of the schools. I have already pointed out to you that an enormous amount of creative and positive learning is now occurring naturally in these years of early childhood. The troubles children have in schools do not stem from the failures of early learning, but instead are directly attributable to the failures of our present system of schools to engage the energies of children in the performance of the educational tasks.

My own proposals for school reform are far different and in a sense far more radical.

I would begin by suggesting that we thoroughly reorganize the present age-graded system of organizing schools. We need to move toward systems where children of different ages can come together so that the younger children can then model themselves after the older children, and where the older children can develop their capacities and responsibilities by having to care for and educate the younger. Traditionally, this is what has been occurring in the family household, on the streets, and in the small schools of rural America. In the name of efficiency, we have destroyed this system by placing together in urban classrooms children of the same chronological age. Some systems of educational reform are challenging this age-grade lockstep; these challenges are not nearly deep enough.

Some systems of educational reform are bringing adult members of the local community into the school in order to serve as teacher aides--para-professionals is the usual label. Especially where the school has in the past been isolated from the local community by barriers of race, ethnicity, language, and caste, such an exchange of personnel between school and community can only be beneficial. But while adults have a valuable place in the school in association with the teachers, it is the adolescent youngsters whom we need now to recruit into the educational structure. In all too many cases, there are deep divisions between the older and younger generations within the local community, so that in relating to the children of the community, the local adults are only marginally superior to the educators. Especially in these kinds of cases, it is the older children who are the natural avenues for dealing with the younger children.

The next thing I would propose--and this should please the advocates of accountability and measurement--is that we should introduce scholastic competitions among the groups or gangs of pupils, and that we should so specify the terms of this compeition as to encourage these youngsters to work together and teach each other. But, we must not allow agencies outside of the local community--we must not allow educational concerns, or school central administration--to determine what particular skills and what knowledge will be subject of competition. Ethnic and racial communities are only too familiar with the failure of exterior educational agencies to provide subject matters that mesh with their own experiences and skills. If we are to secure the enthusiastic participation of the youngsters themselves in these competitive efforts, then we will have to allow them to single out from their own processes of development and learning those which seem worthy of public competitive struggle.

If I return now to the question with which I titled this talk, "How Should Schools Be Held Accountable?" I think that you will see that in addressing the question, I have drastically modified its form. Instead of asking, "How?" I have been instead forced by the logic of my own studies of schools to ask, "To Whom Should Schools Be Accountable?" and here I have introduced into our consideration the role of the peer society of the youngsters who attend the school. On the basis of the observations of schools made by myself and many many others, I have argued that it is the nature of the climate established by that peer society which determines the kind of intellectual and emotional growth of the youngsters in the school. That in our so-called problem schools where scholastic achievement by most pupils is simply minimal, the central problem is the failure of the school system to engage positively with the peer society, but that when such engagement is made, then the results in learning far overshadow the customary measures of scholastic achievement. We must constantly bear in mind that the task of the schools is not to teach--in the sense that we would bring knowledge to pupils who are empty vessels--but that the task of the schools is to provide a climate of learning, and that in order for such a climate to be established, the schools must become responsive to--and, what is more, accountable to--their student.

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## Review of "Human and Social Benefits"[1]

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This essay, prepared as a background paper for participants in the 1971 annual meeting of the American Council on Education, confronts a perplexing question. What are the non-pecuniary, non-quantifiable benefits with which higher education rewards individuals and their society? The authors are strongly convinced that such benefits exist, are important, and deserve more attention. The conclusions they come to from the evidence they survey are not, however, beyond argument or reassessment.

Keniston and Gerzon establish early in this paper their primary concern with educational benefits not measureable with conventional monetary cost-benefit analysis. Their critique of such methods establishes, perhaps, an unfortunate negative tone to what is, in fact, a constructive analysis. Although most economists admit the deficiencies of "index economics" (establishing judgments on the sole criterion of the more the better, hopefully in dollar terms) they do find themselves uncomfortable, as academicians, in the realm of feelings, emotions, attitudes, and psyches, and prefer to leave such areas to scholars competent in them. The authors' assertion that "the pecuniary defense of higher education appears to be slightly shaky" contradicts substantial evidence presented elsewhere in this volume and unnecessarily establishes a tension between types of measurement and approaches to evaluation when perhaps complementarity and reinforcement would be appropriate.

Having established their intention to explore the non-pecuniary "human and social" benefits of higher education, Keniston and Gerzon proceed to build an appropriate framework for evaluation. Utilizing the familiar dichotomy between "training" and "education" (their terms are "technical" education and "critical" education) they suggest that pecuniary measurement is appropriate to the former while a different calculus is needed to assess the latter. Technical education is, in their view, specifically directed at achieving economic goals and therefore correctly evaluated by means of a discounted stream of lifetime earnings or measured contribution to Gross National Product. Critical education, however, is designed to stimulate the establishment of a more mature, humane framework of values" the achievement of which may or may not be correlated with production of income. Obviously, any measurement requires a proper yardstick, and dollars may be irrelevant as a criterion of morality.

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[1]Kenneth Keniston and Mark Gerzon, "Human and Social Benefits", in Universal Higher Education: Costs and Benefits, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1971.

In the substantive heart of this essay Keniston and Gerzon shift the discussion away from earning ability and productivity and focus on the effects of higher education on personal characteristics of students as reported in numerous published studies. Their contribution of a caveat on the too-often-ignored methodological problems associated with making such an assessment is a valuable portion of the essay. As they observe, excessive aggregation of data over diverse schools and students obscures and distorts important information; psychological differences, in no way related to the college experience, are recognized between college attenders and non-attenders and should be separated from changes which result from college itself; and colleges may simply reinforce and extend characteristics of students who selectively enroll in colleges which, by reputation, match the students' predilections.

The authors devote substantial space to description and elaboration of results uncovered by recent research on changes in students which appear, after careful avoidance of known methodological pitfalls, to be attributable to the college experience. Not surprisingly to anyone who has maintained any awareness of contemporary educational innovation and its assessment, Keniston and Gerzon re-report that critical education produces a generally "liberalizing" modification in most students.[1] More specifically, a list of descriptive adjectives which appear and reappear in such assessments include the following: autonomous, open-minded, flexible, relativistic, tolerant, independent, self-confident, open. And, correspondingly, the students appear to be less authoritarian, less dogmatic, less conservative, less adherent to traditional religion and less moralistic. The pattern is clear and familiar.

Further, Keniston and Gerzon attach significance to these changes as being not simply "socialization", or simple attitude change toward student norms. Rather, they interpret these effects as "developmental", that is, "progressive and largely irreversible differentiations and integrations at a higher level of the emotional, intellectual, and moral components of the personality." The evidence additionally appears to indicate that the rate of

[1]The following studies are cited as giving substantial evidence to this modification: James W. Trent and Leland Medsker, Beyond High School: A Psychosociological Study of 10,000 High School Graduates, Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco, 1968; Kenneth A.Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students, Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco, 1969; Gerald Gurin, "Impact During College," in A Degree and What Else? A Review of the Correlates and Consequences of a College Education, ed. by Stephen Withey et al. Draft Prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., forthcoming.

developmental change is increasing over time as emphasis on critical as opposed to technical education increases.[2]

Returning to the key work in the title of their paper, the authors then ask "Are the College Effects Benefits?" Are the liberalizing developmental changes observed in multiple research reports to be applauded and encouraged or bemoaned? Which side of the cost-benefit balance should receive them?

The Keniston-Gerzon assertion is that the observed effects of critical education on college students are beneficial, both for the individual and for society. In their view, higher education "demonstrably makes the unfolding of. . .emotional, intellectual, and moral potentials more likely." Further, the authors assert that the liberalizing, developmental changes are particularly important and beneficial in a highly technological, rapidly changing society. To them, flexibility, adaptability, and freedom from traditional habits, patterns, and forms are vital for useful life in the contemporary world, and even more so in the world of tomorrow. Citing the concept of future shock for emphasis, they point out that personal rigidity is not a helpful characteristic in an extremely fluid social and technological environment.

As a summation of their evaluation of the benefits of critical education, the authors make the following assertions:

> As the modal 'educated man' emerges from research studies he is more likely to tolerate and enjoy the pluralism of modern society, to acknowledge the existence of alternative values and truths without feeling personally threatened, and to retain a sense of psychological integrity even in the presence of multiple roles and rapid social change. He is less likely to simplify the world into good and evil, black and white, to seek to 'restore' social cohesion and cultural unity by turning back the political clock. . .If, as we believe, the greatest threat to democracy in modern technological society is the danger of political reaction, critical higher education minimizes that danger. (p. 60)

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[2]Keniston and Gerzon cite the following studies as providing a theoretical framework of support for this interpretation: William G. Perry, Jr., Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970; Lawrence Kohlberg, " State and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, ed. David A Goslin, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1969; Nevitt Sanford, ed., The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of Higher Learning, Wiley and Sons, New York, 1962.

It is, probably, not difficult for most educators to agree with the Keniston-Gerzon conclusion that college effects are beneficial. But does the larger society agree?

Another way of summarizing the observed college-induced changes is to point out, as the authors do, that the described liberalization tends to break down adherence to traditional values as well as acceptance of authority. Keniston and Gerzon, early in the essay, correctly note that the real controversies over contemporary higher education are precisely results of such liberalization. The emerging student life-styles and cultural disaffection, while reflective of the psychological changes applauded by Keniston-Gerzon, are certainly regarded as costs by many Americans.

As the authors admit, "if stasis and stability were the highest human or societal goals, then the effects of critical higher education would almost certainly be deemed costs". Such goals are obviously not theirs, but it may be foolhardy to assume that they are not society's. If, in a democratic society, most people are not as willing as university psychologists to accept increased psychological tensions, psychological and social conflicts, and personal anguish as part of the progressive life, perhaps Keniston and Gerzon have more thoroughly documented the case against higher education than they had intended.

Further, perhaps before even we academicians can be secure in our appraisal of non-pecuniary college effects as benefits, more thought should be given to preparing students to deal intelligently with these internal changes. Creation of alienation, anxiety, and antagonism surely cannot be attractive if it leads either to arrogant denunciation or apathetic withdrawal. Perhaps judgment on cost or benefit should be reserved until we are sure that the tool-kit of the liberalized sutdent is used for all the good purposes visualized by Keniston-Gerzon, such as tolerance, unification, and reorientation, Such an outcome is not immediately apparent to this observer.

Finally, one additional issue needs to be raised. It is true that we live in a social, cultural, and economic environment of accelerating change, Future shock is all too real. However, two responses are possible. One is to attempt to adapt our biological and psychological structures to this rapid pace. This is the approach Keniston and Gerzon advocate. But it is also possible to attempt to modify the environment to make it more accomodating to more leisurely human adaptation. Perhaps a greater degree of stability should be sought rather than shunned, and education should make a contribution to that goal. Keniston-Gerzon applaud achievement of full human potential, but we have "potential" for a variety of kinds of development. Selective development toward agreed upon social objectives may be more judicious than haphazard development of any and all human capabilities.

The establishment and pursuit of social objectives and the measurement of observed phenomena against such objectives is risky business. If we are to attempt to evaluate "human and social benefits of education" such objectives must be agreed upon and clearly articulated. Our society has not yet made its advocacy of "liberalization" abundantly clear.

## IV. POWER AND OPPRESSION: DIFFERENCES AMONG CULTURES AND MATTERS OF COMMON HUMANITY

The group comes at the problem of developing a sense of self and the power relationships that make this difficult for ethnic groups living in a society having a "melting-pot" mentality and a corresponding monolithic educational system.

Sizemore and Thompson argue against models of de-segregation based on power decisions by one group culture without the involvement of the second group culture. This identity-destructive model is contrasted with a model in which "open social arrangements" result in identity-reaffirming decisions reflecting positive human values.

The importance of educating individuals to behavior that reflects commonalities such as interdependence is stressed in Orr's article on internationalism and interculturalism.

Castaneda's article suggests specific ways in which the educational environment can be sensitized to bicultural needs.

Corrigan criticizes Teachers for the Real World for failing to suggest a plan of teacher education resulting in school reform. One aspect of this is differentiated staffing which he sees as crucial to quality education.

## IV. Power and Oppression: Differences Among Cultures and Matters of Common Humanity

### A. Power Relationships: Teacher Education and Confusions about Integration, Racism, and Oppression

JACOB CARRUTHERS: The power issue put more bluntly and more crudely is this: much of the activity that is going on now, including right here, seems to me to be coming from a set of notions about the necessity that educational reform bring about certain changes in the society as a whole, that it adjust certain conflicts within the society. Education is expected to change society in certain clear ways.

The first thing we ought to do is to examine some of those notions that, let us say, get us moving to want to change society. In particular I am concerned about the whole concept of racism as it is analysed in documents such as the so-called Kerner Report and the so-called Coleman Report, and the conclusions that grow out of them. For example, someone referred to the kind of relationship between racism and racial isolation supported by the Coleman Report. If you look where some of this started as a matter of public concern--the arguments that the Supreme Court heard in arriving at its conclusion in Brown versus Board of Education--maybe we have to say that the Court's line of reasoning--which is to some extent backed up by researches like the Coleman Report and the Kerner Report--was just wrong in the first place. Maybe what we ought to do is start educating people who are responsible for the formulation of such ideas, as to what is really the relationship between racial isolation and inferior education. It seems to me as though the answers to that question are just based on false information, or they are consciously designed to evade the major issue. Let me clarify what I am talking about.

The problem for any ethnic group or racial group seeking a decent education is not really racial isolation; but everybody is pretending as though that is the problem, because in some way or another it seems easier to say you are fighting racial isolation than to say you are fighting some other things, I suppose. If racial isolation were the problem, then Chinese and dominants would be 'the problem'--

VITO PERRONE: What was that?

JACOB CARRUTHERS: "Chinese' and 'dominants," which I assume refers to white folks. But the difficulty with that analysis is that Chinese and orientals and dominants are not too much affected by racial isolation. So it is not really racial isolation that creates the 'underachiever', the dissatisfaction with the school efforts of the children of black folks and folks that are accused of being Spanish-speaking (but more appropriately people suspected of having Indian blood in their veins). That gets back to

racism, which becomes another kind of sheet and cover which obscures a whole lot of fruitful investigation; everybody then starts chasing racism, and then forgets to look at the real situations behind that so-called racism as if racism were a question of superficial insensitivity. But that is not the case.

The real problem is described very superficially, but this time accurately in the Kerner Report, as the development of a set of power relationships out of attitudes of racial superiority and the building of these notions into institutions to maintain the attitudes and perpetuate the power relationships. The problem then for 'black kids' is that they face institutions implicitly designed to keep them from becoming educated members of free communities. The answer to the problem that we are striving for is indeed education, but education first of all of those who are the problem--i.e. those who having a controlling voice in fundamental educational institutions. We start off in educational programs by admitting theoretically, that people in America are prejudiced, or that a large number of people are prejudiced, or that people in key decision-making positions are prejudiced; we say that they are either consciously or unconsciously biased. But having said that, having said that they are the problem, then we immediately formulate plans for 'educating the disadvantaged', which means, Black people, "Mexicans", etc. However much we talk about problems of educating the "non-disadvantaged", whatever that means, we finally get down to the realistic business of saying, "What are we going to do about those Mexicans and the Blacks?"

Everybody jumps in the opportunity to educate Mexicans and Blacks because somehow or other, the business of educating people in 'key decision making posts' is really too, too rough. When one raises the question of how one is going to educate advantaged white folks, everyone says, "We ought to, but nobody really knows how to tackle that problem." I talked with a psychologist from Purdue once, and he was going off to study the self-concept of Black folks; I said, "How come you aren't going to study the self-concept of some of these white people who were responsible for the poverty of those black kids?", and he said he didn't know how to approach that problem. I wondered if he ought to perhaps turn in his Ph.D. and start over again.

When we are talking about educational reform and then building a teacher education program, how can we be seriously talking about that sort of thing and not talking about adult education? When I say "adult education", I do not mean the education of Black folks in the ghetto who are safe and have no skills; I am talking about the education of white people in suburbia and in the offices in the Hancock Building. How can we really be talking about all this other unless we have a thing going where we can educate those people, because we say, according to the wisdom in those reports, that they really cause the problem. To be perfectly frank and honest in an undertaking such as this, we cannot focus our attention exclusively on the things that we normally would focus our attention on. We have to talk about some real changes.

PAUL OLSON: I don't think we have come to grips with the hard

questions; I am sure we fancy ourselves liberals. Let me give you an example. Recently the Amish in Iowa were told that they could not, or probably could not, have their own schools. The matter is still in dispute. The claim was that Amish schools and Amish teachers were allowing the kids to fall behind on nationally normed tests. Yet it is clear that Amish people function effectively as citizens and in their vocations. I think the Iowa Board of Education would not have voted to close the Amish schools had they not felt there was considerable support for the position of not allowing the Amish to have their own schools. The support for the Iowa position, I suspect, goes with the notion that Amish are cultivating fundamentalist religious notions and pre-scientific views of nature. Such views may not be attractive to 'liberals' and 'radicals'. To what extent is liberal white America willing to allow fundamentalist rural people to hire the teachers they want? They have allowed that in the past. Are they going to allow it in the future?

The reason I raise that question is that the assumption of most opponents of the melting pot theory has been that, once you liberate communities from the rootless technocratic ideology formulated in the Twenties, a kind of Maslovian self-actualization will come about in every community. I am not at all sure but that you might set in motion forces which would pull the country apart. The monolithic educational system that we have seems to me to be one of the things which was devised to create a sense of nationhood in the absence of any rooted sense of nation.

VITO PERRONE: I believe we need to promote diversity and community. Maintaining respect for diversity-individuality-as well as a respect for community obviously calls for a sensitive balance. Any time you support difference, you do run the risk of that difference being divisive of community.

PAUL ORR: I think it is very critical that we keep clear about this thing. Even though I certainly recognize the need that people be able to follow their own culture, I would argue very strongly for a public school system in which we do have some commonality, if only the commonality of being human. Public education is one of the ways that 'commonality' is emphasized. I argue just as strongly against segregated schools now as I did fifteen years ago. When I talk about school integration and racial balance, I am not talking about just the welfare of the black child, even though I am critically and vitally interested in them; I am talking about the welfare of the society as a whole. A white child has many things that he can learn in an integrated school that he cannot learn in one that is separated by race or on any other basis. I would argue that we need to seek not only racial, but also socio-economic integration. Anything we do in public education, at any level, that separates rather than pulls us together as a people is likely to be counterproductive. I do not think it is inherently inconsistent that you have to suppress some cultural differences in order to develop a sense of some of the commonalities that glue us together as a people.

PAUL OLSON: Are you saying it is not necessary to suppress the sense of local culture and ethnic culture in order to develop a sense of nationhood?

PAUL ORR: I am hoping we can have both. I think we can preserve some cultural differences without suppressing all commonalities that we have. There are some basic similarities of mankind in addition to some differences, and the differences do not have to be suppressed in order to understand the similarities, e.g., man's interdependence.[1]

WILLIAM HICKS: I hope that we are not deluded into believing that merely placing Black and white kids under the same roof is going to achieve the kind of things we are talking about, because that just is not a fact of life. There is still discrimination and segregation in so-called integrated schools. We ought to be concerned about educating administrators and teachers so that they can provide the teaching and learning settingsthat will permit integration to achieve its purpose.

There are schools for girls and schools for boys; black kids sit on one side, white kids on the other. There are class systems that are installed in the schools today. I have never seen so much emphasis placed on vocational education in some of our Southern states as is being placed today. It stems mainly, as far as I can see, from the fact that the black kids are in the schools.

We had a youth conference at my institution this past spring, and I thought I was really familiar with what was happening in the schools. But I was not, not until I heard these kids talk about the things that are happening to them. It is deplorable.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: It is better for us to deal with letting people know what they are about, and the implications behind the position they have, than it is to concentrate on teaching them how to love. When Paul used the concept of love--it bothered me; Rankin, Bilbo or Eastland made a statement once that they had some Negroes down there that they loved and that loved them. I am not even going to challenge them on that. I don't want to deal with that. Maybe it was love. There were some strange relationships between individual whites and individual Blacks in the South. Faulkner talks about them. It is not whether white people love or hate Black people anymore than whether Poles love or hate Italians. What we really have to crash through is the whole notion that the only way we can save the black people in this country is to love them whereas you don't have to love Jews for Jews to make it.

PAUL OLSON: The book entitled The Great Spirit is Dead argues that Indians have been loved to death. Dean Corrigan spoke to me of four areas that Joan Goldsmith lists in her essay on educating teachers at Newton College. He said those four areas are useful divisions describing the authority of the teacher, how it is developed--a sense of self; emphathetic approach to students; skill in teaching-learning strategies; awareness of the school as a system in itself and in relation to the society. But those four areas only mean in terms of a specific content: your self, the self that you bear in a

[1]Douglas Oliver, an anthropologist from Harvard, has endeavored to

describe (in a paper presented to a Tri-University Project Conference in Denver in 1967) some "universals" which cut across culture and which can be useful in teaching cultural differences. The article 'Other'Groups and 'Our' Children is available through the Nebraska Curriculum Center. The selection which follows may form a useful footnote to the remarks in this section as well as the papers which follow by Orr. Sizemore, and Castenada.

> . . . There's probably no habit-pattern quite so commonplace among humans--including, so help me, elementary-school children!--as the utterance of the monosyllabic word. (And every language spoken by humans has some monosyllabic words; hence, this is one kind of behavior pattern that can be compared universally.) I wish I could show you a formula for the phonemic pattern that has been worked out by linguists showing variations in forms of English monosyllabic words. (One can find such a formula in one of Whorf's papers). If you were to see such a formula in print, you would probably say, "That's too complex; I could never learn to memorize and utter anything so complex as that." Yet, this is a habit-pattern which most English-speaking children have totally mastered by the time they are six or so. Even when they invent little nonsense words, they don't get beyond that pattern. None of Lewis Carroll's most bizarre words transcend it.
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> The intricacy and distinctiveness of this formula can only be exemplified by comparing it with the formula worked out for phonemic-pattern alternatives for monosyllabic words of some other languages--say, Hawaiian. An exercise like this, using a truly universal kind of human behavior pattern--i.e., utterance of monosyllabic words--could be made to show how very widely peoples differ in their ways of staying alive.
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> Still another use of a commonplace taken from the realm of language might be exemplified by comparisions in the kind of behaviors we know as "thank you." If you ask American students what 'thank you' means in English, they will give you a common-sense definition, to wit, the pleasurable, grateful reaction of a person to something good having been done for him. Well, there's a word in the language of the Trukese people which has been translated into English as 'thank you', and which is so used in their conversations with Trukese-speaking Americans. But, in native situations, that same word is used by a person vis-a-vis someone believed to be killing him by sorcery. That is to say, when a person

feels unwell, or has other evidence for believing himself to be under a sorcery spell, he goes to the alleged sorcerer and greets him with the Trukese word which has been translated into English as 'thank you.' Now, that's a long way from our usage of thank you, you will agree. But the situation isn't so greatly different after all. In Trukese terms, about the only person who is ever socerized is one who has committed some unethical or immoral act--whether wittingly or not. When such an act is committed, someone else in the community who has the welfare of the malefactor or the community at heart will use sorcery as an accepted means of bringing the sin, etc. to the attention of the malefactor. Hence, such a sorcerer deserves, and receives the victim's gratitude, his "thank you."

There are many other such small-scale topics, "little" concept words, that deal with commonplaces and that might with profit be worked into the curriculum. One of these is the so-called life-cycle. (Actually, this is a somewhat inappropriate term for the phenomenon; there are very few societies in which life is conceived of as 'cycling', as going full circle and starting over again. But the word is a useful one if this reservation is kept in mind; and anyway, it's fixed in the vocabulary beyond any of our powers to change.)

The question might be put: when does life begin, socially speaking, in our society, and in other societies? In terms of our own society the topic is now being much debated in our press. In case you are puzzled, I refer to the topic of abortion, which directly concerns our notions about when a human life begins to have social significance. In our tender-minded society, by and large, life is socially significant as soon as the egg is fertilized, and any action that stops that development is considered more or less homicidal. But there are degrees of becoming human even in our society; the person who committs abortion is not so sternly penalized as the one who kills a newborn infant, and far less penalized than one who kills an older child.

Now, there are no federal laws regarding abortion, so far as I know. Each state decides the question, i.e., at what stage of fetal development the organizm begins to acquire the status of humanity; and these state decisions are usually made on the basis of assumptions that are never made explicit, that are, in fact, probably quite unconscious in the minds of the legislators creating the law.

To carry the matter a little further, differences in conceptualization of the 'life cycle' can be exemplified by comparing certain nations' laws regarding murder. For example, in some Western European nations there are milder penalities for killing a child before it has been listed in the local civil register than after, usually only a matter of a few days. In this respect, our own laws regarding penalties for homicide vary considerably with regard to the age and condition of the victim. That is to say, we also have our assumptions, often unconscious ones, regarding the timing of the process of becoming human, in the full social sense.

Coming of age: This also is a "commonplace," particularly to the children you are concerned with. At what age in life--at what biological age, chronological age (and by what steps)--is the child not only in our society but in other societies considered ready for not only the society's responsibilities but for its rewards? I've been making a study of some contemporary Tahitian societies in this respect. Modern Tahiti is dominated by Protestant theology; but its legal system is the French-Roman code, and mixed up with this is a whole battery of native, pre-European beliefs and customs about the life cycle. Well, each one of these different codes--native, Protestant and French--defines the life cycle in a somewhat different way. The confusion is immense. I think probably our own society engages in this same kind of exercise. Our religious codes define it in one way; our legal codes in another way; our local folk-customs in another way.

Now these are all subject matters which I think have a bearing on the topic I've been assigned. They are "commonplace," and they are not too big to tackle.

Music (another commonplace) could serve as another means for teaching children that societies differ greatly in this universal form of expression, and that such differences are not bad. I remember with embarassment my own training in so-called music appreciation, my somewhat nervous laughter when I heard some music from Japan or India and how my reactions were reinforced by my peers (and I regret to say by my teachers as well). In other words, I learned very soon our own society's attitude that different music is funny, silly, even stupid. In contrast to my own early conditioning in this regard, it should be a simple and highly useful matter to teach children that it is possible to have esthetically satisfying music without expressing it in

our musical scale. Or that great operas, quartets (or X-tets) can be composed without our kinds of instruments.

Of course, in all the above talk about commonplaces, I'm focusing on attitudes. I do not propose that children should be taught all these facts about thank yous, or monosyllabic words, or musical scales, or life's beginning for the content they might absorb, but rather for the attitudes that might rub off onto them in the process.

Turning again briefly to another commonplace, art. I think that a lesson that might be embedded in children very early in their schooling has to do with the difference between competence and style. Some of the so-called sophisticates of our society still confuse these two things. You can go to the most refined exhibit of modern art and hear people who should know better say, "Any child could do that." Well, this kind of attitude is engrained very early in life, and it should be guarded against from the first moment when arts enter the curriculum.

I understand that one of the books assigned for most participants here is Lévi-Strauss' La Pensée Sauvage. This book has some very opaque paragraphs and even chapters, but underneath it there's a lesson which again deals with commonplaces and is feasible to transmit, certainly to college students, I imagine to high school students, and possibly even to elementary students--namely that the logic of science that we are totally preoccupied with in our educational system is not the only kind of logic. And for certain purposes it may not be the best kind of logic.

Now all of this that I've been talking about has to do with differences in behavior patterns from one society to another. I think another message which should be gotten across, and very early, is that there are also some human universals. First of all in habits, in simple habits that I believe even seven-and eight-year-olds can grasp. Our language, our whole cognitive organization, is almost completely preoccupied with dichotomies: up-down, good-bad, right-left, before-after. Well it should come as no surprise that this is true of most human cognitive systems that we know of. Now why is this true? I would like to suggest to you that one of the reasons this is true and one of the thoughts that might be explored with children, is that man is anatomically bilaterally symmetrical.

(I asked one of my youngsters who happened to be nine-years-old at the time of this question and got no answer, and then I asked him to draw a picture of an octopus. After he had looked up "octopus" in the encyclopedia and had drawn a reasonable facsimile of it, I then asked him, "Would an octopus say 'right and left'?" He thought for a minute and decided that an octopus not only would not say 'right and left,' but he couldn't say 'right and left.' He had no way of deciding what is right and left because of his eight tentacles.) Imagine yourself in a cognitive universe where you had 3, 4, 17 or 22 tentacles reaching out into the surrounding world. Would you be dealing with dichtomies then? I doubt it.

Mankind also is alike in having everywhere certain identical problems requiring solutions. First of all, there is a problem that you're all aware of. It has been written about over and over again; that is the problems arising as a result of the human being's relatively long dependency period, the human animal's shortage of instinct. Now what kinds of problems does this create for the developing human animal? Well, I don't know where this could lead you in founding your curriculum, but it leads me, intalking to undergraduates, into the whole field of comparative education. And I find comparative education a fascinating subject to students, because they are directly involved in education; and they are interested in seeing themselves through the perspective of how other people go about education. I think a lot of mileage can be gained under this vast, amorphous field of the structure of other societies by concentrating on the situation in which the student finds himself becoming "educated."

Still another commonplace kind of universal human situation which requires solutions is the existence in all human communities of variations in productivity. Some people produce more than other people, and different kinds of things; and in the course of a yearly cycle, they produce different amounts of certain things as opposed to different amounts of others. Well, what kind of situation does this inevitably create? Inasmuch as most humans have about the same biological needs and in the same community, pretty similar acquired needs, this means that although everybody consumes or wants to consume pretty much the same thing, there is wide discrepancy between production and consumption, both in terms of individuals and of time. Hence every society is faced with the problem of distributing its goods and services, both in terms of space (from individual to individual) and in terms of time (from times of scarcity to times of

sufficiency or surplus). The ways different societies have attempted to solve this problem offer good opportunities for teaching some economics at a very early age.

Take the matter of distribution in space. This leads into discussions of exchange, and provides opportunities for comparing our own exchange systems with those of other societies. To high-light the differences in instrumentalities, while at the same time emphasizing the universal-ness of the problem and of some kind of solution of it, one could profitably contrast our own system of distribution with that of a society that has neither "money" nor a price-fixing market institution. There are rich ethnographic materials for constructing lessons devoted to this topic.

To carry the study of comparative economics a step further, one should devote attention to the problem facing all societies, that goods have to be "distributed" in time, from time of surplus to time of scarcity. This, of course, concerns the whole matter of deferment of consumption, of saving, all very important topics to a child at any age, and all very human.

Now there are other so-called functional requisites which are common to all humanity, many problems that must be met by all societies; and I personally have found these very useful, pedagogically, as devices to get students involved in structures of other societies. (Some people will call this kind of warmed-over Malinowski functionalism. Perhaps that may be so, but as a teaching device it's proved very useful to me and my colleagues.)

specific community, your capacity to empathize with the fantasy life, cultural life, political life of X kids in X school etc. Corrigan has his own list. What is crucial about both lists is that they constitute semantically open statements; they only achieve meaning in a specific context.

DEAN CORRIGAN: Could I ask this question of you, Mr. Carruthers? Do you think whites, say, those in suburban communities, can become concerned and carry on an education program towards the ends you would like, if a separatist system, white schools in the suburbs, continues?

JACOB CARRUTHERS: I really don't know. In the first place, I don't think much serious research has been done on the problem. I am very serious when I make that statement; I am not trying to cop out. Just now, to be somewhat sort of facetious with the problem, one of the things that occurs to me is that what we need in this country is a new theory of learning disability as it applies to white middle class people.

PAUL OLSON: That is not facetious.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: To me, racial isolation was never a consequence of separate but equal or segregation in the first place. I grew up in Texas, in East Texas, and spent time in Louisiana, which is as much Mississippi as any place you can get. I know racial isolation was not really the consequence of separate but equal. I brushed up against white people every day; they didn't mind. It wasn't that they didn't want to touch us or be around us. The whole policy was designed to give certain white people a monopoly on policy affecting race relations, and thus to establish a system of racial superiority in psychological and socio-economic terms.

It is not a matter of contact or noncontact. Nor is it a matter of a merely superficial concept of democracy. What I am trying to say is that separation of races, or integration of races, is not the issue. First, some kind of ability to embrace the truth of the matter must be developed. For instance, some people go out to suburbia and tell groups of parents, "Now you know, these poor little Black children have been deprived because they have not been going to school with your children." That is lying to them, either consciously or unconsciously. The reason Black children are deprived is that white people made decisions about educational policy, and those white people made decisions according to priorities that demanded that they mess over little Black kids.

Now obviously white people are not going to learn much about Black people if they don't ever interact with Black people. But if you don't put them together correctly, in the right kind of context, I don't think it does any good. The theory that the more you know about somebody the more you love him is not true, per se. You first of all have to have a total context that will direct that concept into positive measures.

The first step is not to say, "Let's send some people out there." That happened in South Holland, [Illinois]. What happened to those Black people out there in an integrated situation is not dissimilar to what happened to the Black people in the other South Hollands in South Africa, in the apartheid system. It is the same sort of thing. It didn't matter whether you

integrated or segregated them since white people were dedicated to the proposition of making black folk inferior.

DEAN CORRIGAN: When kids get into school, they immediately go into a system which is not a democratic system; it is a winner or loser system. The marking system gives teachers the right to label the learner in a certain way in relationship to everybody else, not in relationship to himself.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: I had an interest in Evanston and the situation surrounding the removal of Dr. Coffin (former superintendent of schools). One of the things that I got out of that was that a number of times people really overestimated what they could do in terms of changing something significantly. Without going into all the details of it, I think that one of the things that Dr. Coffin was trying to assert was that he was going to take the power of the superintendent's office and share it with the black community, because that is what the black community needed. I think that was a noble idea. But I think that it was unfortunately formulated on an assumption that was false: that assumption was that Dr. Coffin (in the first place) had some power. He didn't have any power; he had some authority that was delegated to him. As soon as he 'misused' it, as those who gave it to him saw use and abuse it was taken away from him.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I think we have to put this in the context of power relationships that exist in the institutions we are talking about. I have grown up hearing a lot of rhetoric about democratic participation and reorganization of power structures; and this summer for the first time I am experiencing what that really means. We sit around in a group of a hundred and we talk about how evaluation of the program is going to be done. Everybody talks about it. We have some diversity. The only reason I think we really have some diversity is that everybody has some chunk of the power. That decision is not going to be made on the basis of any kind of preconceived power organizations. One of the reasons for this is that the students who have come to the program have said to those of us who were doing some of the organization and administration before they came, "You are accountable to us. We are paying you. You are not accountable to the president of the college or the board of trustees or your boss. You are accountable to us." I don't know how long the college is going to be able to tolerate that way of operating; but it seems to me that is the only way, the only kind of education that parents and teachers can have. It allows them to get a sense of self, a sense of self power, the sense of what it means to have some control of "what happens to me".

VITO PERRONE: On commonality: if such American ideals as political and social democracy and its supporting dimensions--equal access, participation--were put into practice there would not only be a sufficient common base for a culturally diverse program, but one which could provide for differences and thereby enrich our lives instead of causing our lives to be continually impoverished.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Doesn't that suggest that we need to differentiate between levels of agreement in diversity? It seems to me in the language of the sociologist, you do not have a society unless you have some shared values.[1] That is what a society means: it is a social commitment and adherence to some shared values. That does not necessarily translate into reproduction of specific patterns of behavior and specific values--if the basic commitment is to a diversity of behaviors, values, etc.

VITO PERRONE: But you probably can't have that until you have some balance in power relationships. I am not prepared, for example, to see public funds go to the Amish schools unless the Amish also are willing to open their schools to others; if indeed they function on an open access basis, then I see no problem with their conducting their own schools and also receiving public support. Even if they function in a closed setting I am prepared to support their right to maintain schools and the freedom to function as a community. The only question then would be their access to public funds. That is an issue which the courts have dealt with quite seriously.

At the same time we are the people that perpetuate an education system that does not promote diversity or democracy. It promotes class; it promotes race; it promotes a great deal more divisiveness than my own conception of cultural pluralism would. For instance, right now in most institutions, and in most states, there is one route to certification. You either follow that path or you don't get in, and I think there are a number of people clamoring to get in but who can't make it through that one path.

B. Teacher Education: Schools and Communities: How to Evaluate Differentiated Reform.

DEAN CORRIGAN: The reform of teacher education is inextricably interwoven with reform in the schools. If we are shifting from 'traditional teacher education' to 'educating teachers for various kinds of constituencies', if we take that shift as a given, then some value judgments have to be made about what kinds of schools are needed for various kinds of constituencies. Those judgments will then become the basis for determining the sources of professional content in teacher education. Teacher education must grow out of some specific value premises as to what kind of schools are needed by each constituency. The creation of a set of compelling value statements is the missing link in much of our talk in teacher education. Instead of talking about substances, we talk about shadows. We talk about the form of it--whether we should have three years of it, five years of it, whether we should have two courses in psychology or three--without being forced to relate all of it to what kind of learning environment which our years are going to produce and promote. We have hesitated in doing this because

[1] cf. Ortega Y. Gasset, Man and People, on systems of usages as the basis of "the social."

there has always been disagreement in the value area. But I do not think one can talk seriously about any part of teacher education--its form, its content, how it is going to be evaluated--without being willing to say, "This is what we value for this constituency as we attempt to develop schools for tomorrow."

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: One implication then is that--though historically the teacher, like the medical man, has been thought of as capable of ministering to all groups--teachers do need to be specialized in working with certain types of groups in this country. In a sense what you are saying--or the way I am saying it--is that, "The teacher is a specialist, but one dealing with certain types of children, not 'content areas'."

PAUL OLSON: One of the scholars who treat school policy whom I most admire is Murray Wax. You may know the study he did of education at Pine Ridge; it is, I think, one of the earliest studies done by an American academician suggesting that ethnic communities outside the mainstream ought to take over and run their own schools in their own style. Wax said that, when he went to Pine Ridge, he foundthat there had been many studies of what was wrong with Pine Ridge education, most of which focused on individual Sioux children, their neuroses and family problems. The studies tended to display a demography of deep neurosis in the Sioux, and each child went through an almost identical neurotic pattern. The "Sioux problem" then, was treated as if it were fundamentally a psychological problem. But Wax argues that what is involved is not so much an individual psychological matter as the confrontation of one culture with another which oppresses it. Sioux children were responding as a group to their confrontation with another group in the schools.

Most of the information whichI have seen gathered which treats of needs and problems in the education of teachers, focuses on individual children--on their individual "problem " or "problems" or needs. The studies focus on individual teachers, their "problems and needs." I understand Mr. Castaneda to be saying that education is related to the aspirations of the adult community and the total community, rather than to the particular aspiration of individual persons within the community. Our scholarly methodologies in education--our emphasis on the individual as opposed to the social--tend to place us in the position of gathering facts which do not recognize the existence of culture and of groups.* It is, of course, possible to gather information about, say, how many teachers speak Spanish; but if you got Spanish-speaking teachers in all Chicano schools and nothing else changed, the educational situation for Chicano students in this country would not change one hell of a lot.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: Let me try to extend that notion. Much of the literature in my field of psychology deals with the education objectives

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*cf. Robert Javlin , La Paix Blanche

of parents. It characteristically has focused on the educational or child-rearing practices of mainstream America. However, when studies have been done of, say, the socialization practices of various minority groups and the values of the particular group teased out, the social scientists have tended to put these values down, saying that these lead to low academic achievement, these put the child in conflict with the dominant culture and so forth. The minority culture thus becomes a damaging model. Some of the articles in the Harvard Education Review are now counteracting this by arguing that the teaching styles, goals and objectives of various minority communities should, in a democratic culturally pluralistic society, be taken as equally worth while and equally valuable.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: We also tend to evaluate educational progress from the perspectives of our own emotional or psychological limitations--our fears, obsessions, etc. My major personal and professional concern is in looking at the problem of emotional growth and the development of a strong sense of self in teachers and parents and kids. One of the things that each of us in our program have gotten into is an exploration of our own ethnic background. There is a great diversity of ethnic background in the program but we have learned how ignorant each of us is about his own family history, his own backgrounds, and his origins, his own historical community base. That this is the case with the diverse group of teachers with whom we are working at Newton College suggests that many people in education may have a tremendously deep personal stake in the melting pot myth, a stake on which hangs a lot of emotional, economic, and political baggage. Many of us may have gotten to where we are --to positions of status and power--by holding on to the melting pot myth while denying a lot of our cultural heritage and historical roots. Talking about cultural pluralism touches people not only in terms of power configurations; it touches deeply rooted emotions.

DEAN CORRIGAN: I fear that we are in danger of settling for a kind of "necessary adjustment" in teacher education which does not make a really fundamental examination of basic questions about society. While much of the public, and most of the students, have reached the conclusion that our present system of education from first grade to graduate school is obsolete, we are still talking about differentiated staffing, forms, TV, non-graded schools, team teaching, without really looking at the ends questions, the value questions. We have been so engulfed by the problems of poverty and the problem of the cities that we fail to recognize our larger failure with all of the children of all of the people. Why is it that in the most schooled society in history we still tolerate slums? Why are we so little sensitive to justice, to the way we treat each other, to the demands of compassion for our fellow men. In Frederick Weissman's film, "High School", the question becomes: Are schools as such really the best way of educating the young or anyone else for that matter? We would be better off as a profession to take a stand that we ought to close schools than to continue to have people go to some of the schools that now exist. To put three thousand

kids in four acres of brick and mortar, with 41 kids to one teacher, is madness. We can't talk about teacher education and reforming teacher education without talking about reforming the schools. The Study Commission is faced with defining the changes in teacher education in terms of beliefs about what kinds of schools are needed in the future. Teachers for the Real World would have had a completely different thrust if its purpose had been to describe a teacher education plan to produce teachers who would reform the schools. To accomplish this, the group would have had to state some value judgments about the kinds of schools needed to make education useful in the '70's: the changes that they would make in the present scholastic establishment to begin to have it look like an educational system.

I have tried to list twelve dehumanizing factors which must be dealt with if we are to have decent schools. The effort to eliminate these practices can establish value goals for educational reform:

1. the marking system and
   a. the illegitimate comparisons it makes;
   b. the pressure it creates;
   c. the failure it produces;
2. overcrowding and resulting
   a. class loads;
   b. easy anonymity;
   c. shallow teacher-pupil realtionships;
3. curricular tracking and
   a. the caste system it fosters;
4. the inflexible and non-variable time schedule and
   a. the conformity it demands;
5. the scarcity of curriculum options and
   a. the boredom it creates;
6. the grade-level lock-step which ignores what we know about the ways in which unique selves develop and
   a. the accompanying imposition of single scope and sequence schemes;
   b. the perpetuation of an obsolete "winners and losers" concept of education;
7. testing instead of evaluating and
   a. the misuse and misinterpretation of intelligence, achievement and aptitude tests;
8. failure to reflect responsibility for lack of progress "achieved" by students;
9. the "objectivity" model which prevents meaningful relationships from developing between teachers and kids;
10. the "right answers" syndrome;
11. racial isolation and
    a. the prejudice and discrimination it breeds;
    b. the "defeatist" or "snobbish" self-concepts it nurtures;
    c. the mockery it makes of the American dream;
12. demonstrated distrust instead of demonstrated faith in human beings.

Secondly, most educational change takes place when you come up against a crisis situation, where you have to change the status quo. We are so caught up in solving the crisis of the moment that we have seldom oriented positively toward some directions we are seeking. We walk into the future backward. This year's second graders are going to be graduating in 1984. We ought to raise questions about what kind of schools--not necessarily schools, but education--they need.

PAUL OLSON: For 1984?

DEAN CORRIGAN: --for 1984, yes.

PAUL ORR: Could you have made that 1986?

DEAN CORRIGAN: I use 1984 very deliberately.

# Separatism, Segregation, and Integration +

Barbara A. Sizemore*
Anderson Thompson

Most desegregation models are based on the definition of integration labeled "racial balance."[1] The familiar measure is 80-20, 80 percent white and 20 percent black. Racial balance, then, is none other than the restrictive quota system masquerading as a liberator. The process is the distribution and/or dispersal of certain groups by other groups according to the former's percentage of the national population. For a moment, consider the distributed group as B group, and the distributing group as A group. A has power over B.[2] The problem with racial balance is that B does not participate in the defining, the decision making, or the implementing. B is powerless.

No desegregation model is based on a second definition of integration labeled "open social arrangements," wherein every individual has an opportunity to make a multitude of voluntary contacts with any other human being based only on personal taste, ability, and preference.[3] Under such a model every citizen would have the right to live in any house, in any neighborhood, to work on any job, and to go to any school. In such an "open society" there would be no A group or B group. Why was the open social arrangements definition ignored?

The definition of the problem largely determines the alternatives considered as possible means to solutions. The question is: How is it possible for one to define a problem one way or another, or to decide to answer one point of view or the other, or to embrace one conceptual scheme or another? These issues reach a kind of metaphysical bedrock. For one is asking whether in choosing between alternatives the basis for choice does not itself presuppose a conceptual scheme.

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[1]Oscar Handlin. "The Goals of Integration." In: Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, editors. The Negro American. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965. pp. 659-77.

[2]Sol Tax. "The Freedom to Make Mistakes." Fred Gearing, Robert McNetting, and Lisa R. Peattie. Documentary History of the Fox Project, Exhibit 44. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. pp. 245-50.

[3]Oscar Handlin, op. cit., p. 661.

A "Rational" Choice

After the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, most black people (B group) opted for the open social arrangements definition of integration and the liberal whites (A group) opted for the racial balance definition. The inevitable split arose over the divergent interpretations which were only rarely discussed. But why did liberal whites opt for racial balance?

First, the agitation for integration was often led by liberal whites who found themselves in neighborhoods threatened by black inundation.[4] The assumption was made that black people were moving into white neighborhoods for the same reasons that white people were moving to the suburbs: better schools and better homes. An arrangement to integrate all the schools[5] could eliminate those moving for better schools, would force white neighborhoods distant from black communities to share the burden of the black blight, and would stall for time until some better solutions could be found, for example, urban renewal, Model Cities Programs, or zoning laws.

Second, the abolition of powerlessness of the B groups necessitates the surrender of A group status. The model or theme which serves as the foundation of Western definitions and alternatives in philosophy, history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and education is the myth of the white man. The white male model symbolizes a belief in the inherent superiority of all Western European white men. An open society definition would eradicate white supremacy and European superiority (A group status). The option of racial balance has no such requirement. In fact, it reinforces the supremacy, for A has power over B. The choice of racial balance, then, was a rational choice.

Rational man acts for a reason. Four suggested basic social components of that action are: values, norms, the individual's motivation for action, and the situational factors.[6] The values are the broad-ended goal statements upheld by the rules, laws, regulations, and standards (norms) executed by the individual properly motivated to obedience and conformity by socialization or the provision of skills, knowledge, and information (situational factors). Models or images are both the means of socialization,

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[4]Robert Crain. The Politics of School Desegregation. Chicago: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969, pp. 112-30.

[5]Gregory Coffin. "Moving Toward Integration." Illinois Education, November 1968. See also literature on Evanston, Illinois, school desegregation.

[6]Neil J. Smelser. Theory of Collective Behavior. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc. pp. 24-46. See also: Edward Shils and Talcott Parsons. Toward a General Theory of Action. Harper Torchbooks. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1951. pp. 47-189.

which defines a person's place in the world, and of social control, which confines one's place in that world.

For example, the values of democracy, love, peace, and brotherhood were supported by the civil rights movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.[7] These human values have been manifest in the black community for some time. They are revealed in the extended black family, though its belief in individualism, its confidence in education, and its faith in Christianity.[8] But, in its powerlessness, the black family could not make white institutions support these values. It never mobilized its resources adequately to win that control.

Additionally, although democracy, love, peace, and brotherhood are the declared values of the white community, the white family does not support them. Myrdal calls this lack of support "An American Dilemma."[9] He attributes this failure to the "psychic resistance" of those who need to sustain their belief in white supremacy. But another explanation might be the existence of another value system. . .undeclared. . . That undeclared value system could well be: male superiority,[11] and the superiority of people with money.[12] If this is the value system, three B groups emerge: women, non-whites and non-Europeans, and the poor.

"Things Fall Apart"

These observations suggest that B groups must go beyond mere analysis of A group studies of B groups. For, if these conditions are "to be turned upside-down," in the words of Fanon,[13] it must be determined whether or not A groups are capable of changing their behavior. In his most penetrating novel, Chinua Achebe has the hero, Okonkwo, ask a friend,

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[7]Martin Luther King, Jr. Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos? New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967. pp. 1-66.

[8]Andrew Billingsley. Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1968.

[9]Gunnar Myrdal. An American Dilemma. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944. pp. 1027-34.

[10]Lionel Tiger. Men in Groups. New York: Random House, Inc., 1969.

[11]Albert Memmi. The Colonizer and the Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965. For detailed description, see: Harold Cruse. The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual. New York: Morrow and Company, Inc., 1967.

[12]Ferdinand Lundberg. The Rich and the Super Rich. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968.

[13]Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963. pp. 29-74.

Obierika, "Does the white man understand our customs about land?" Obierika answers:

> The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.[14]

B groups must study A groups and their alien models and images created and superimposed on B group cultures and incorporated into their lives; for these exert some measure of control over the group.

Segregation is such a control: the condition of separatism which occurs when the A group (whites) forces the B group (blacks) to remain apart from the A group. A has power over B. The value is white supremacy; the norm (law) is segregation. Both A and B group members are motivated to conform to the belief in B group inferiority and worthlessness and the fear of A group reprisal by models and images.[15]

Separatism is the condition of separation which occurs when B group decides for itself to separate from A group. A is equal to B. The value is usually some aspect of the pursuit of happiness (cultural preservation, a certain way of life, survival, or group mobility). Most previously, excluded groups (B groups) attempted to improve their conditions from a separated vantage point, for example, Amish, Muslims, immigrants, and Catholics.[16]

The intransigence of the firmly entrenched A group causes the B group to use the only resource available, people. From the pseudospecies declaration, "We are the chosen people," grounded in religion, a strong group identity specification emerges attached to a territorial imperative.[17] This combination leads to an intense nationalism which transforms itself into a powerful group cohesion and support system projecting a negative

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[14] Chinua Achebe. Things Fall Apart. London: Heinemann, 1958.

[15] Allison Davis, Burleigh and Mary Gardner. Deep South. Phoenix Books, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. pp. 20-24.

[16] Barbara A. Sizemore. "Separatism: A Reality Approach to Inclusion?" In: Robert L. Green. Racial Crisis in American Education. Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1969. Chapter 12.

[17] Erik H. Erikson, Identity, Youth, and Crisis. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1968. See also: Robert Ardrey. Territorial Imperative. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1966.

identity.[18] The negative identity designates A group as harmful and B group excludes A group, whereupon the need for cooperation is noted within B group. Within the confines of B group, the human values are practiced. B group members choose each other for jobs, services, and support.[19]

This model for group mobility developed because the individual mobility model which worked for the A group (Protestant Ethic, Horatio Alger, etc.) failed the B group. Individual mobility models work for members of the "in" group. It is possible that separatism will be necessary as long as A groups have power over B groups. The blind cannot compete with the seeing. They need support. All B groups do. Greeley and Rossi discovered this in their study of Catholic Americans.[20]

On the other hand, if one believes all men are equal under God, desegregation models need practices and policies which support the values manifest in such a belief. Participation in such models must be voluntary and must respect the rights of people to live, work, and go to school anywhere. Therefore, the involvement of all participants in the defining and decision-making process is imperative. Such a model has been conceived by the Chicago Midwest Desegregation Institute.[21]

In order to ensure B groups of full, free, and constructive participation in decision making, human values must be supported for liberation and survival if and when A groups refuse to support these human values. To do otherwise would mean to adopt a value system which destroys one's identity and any possibility of true integration.

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[18]Erik H. Erikson, ibid., pp. 172-76.

[19]Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton. Black Power. Vintage Books. New York: Random House, Inc., 1967. See also: Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1963.

[20]Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi. The Education of the Catholic Americans. National Opinion Research Center Monographs in Social Research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966. p. 151.

[21]Jacob Curruthers. "The Black View of the Workshop." In: Toward a Model of Relevant Inclusion. The Midwest Program in School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunity. Indianapolis Workshop: A Progress Report. Funded by Grant #0E6-0-8-000365-4515 (036) under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the U.S. Office of Education, February 1969.

# Internationalism and Interculturalism As Concepts

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## Introduction to the Situation

"Intercultural education" and "international education" have developed a host of meanings: from comparative study to technical assistance to developing countries; from foreign intergovernmental relations to exchange--of faculty, students or materials; from developing respect for another's *culture to* learning its full pattern of behaviors and corrections. To many it means area studies and social studies and foreign languages; to a few it is "pen-pals" and international travel. To some it is only scholarly, to others only practical or applied. It involves cross-cultural experience, bi-national and multi-cultural involvement. It includes all of these and more. In fact, the terms, international and intercultural education, have such a wide range of meanings that their value for communication is lost.

Recognizing this diversity of meaning, I will not attempt further definition but rather I wish to explore two concepts, internationalism and interculturalism, which I will attempt to clarify in this discussion. These concepts represent what I believe should be the foci of the education community's involvement.

## The Cause for Concern

Viewing the results of what we have called international and intercultural education, there is adequate cause for concern.

1. There is a dangerous unevenness between our ability to create in people a sense of world responsibility and the increase in our technological capacity to destroy. (Von Braun, Frankel)

2. An inverse relationship seems to exist between the world's tendency to grow smaller and the human tendency to become tolerant and understanding. Indeed, during the last generation, the world has had an unprecedented increase in extreme nationalism. (Counts, DeYoung, Taylor) Domestically, a corresponding polarization of races is occurring, a tendency to replace racial integration with separatism.

3. People in America are more chauvinistic, parochial and intolerant in their attitudes toward other nations and other cultures than at any time in the past century (Commager 1969, Morehouse 1970) in spite of vastly increased funding and involvement by the United States and our people in area and language studies, international travel, foreign aid, etc. which we have assumed would bring about better understanding. Furthermore, these attitudes pervade our society within, as well as without.

4. The premise that global confrontation is an effective solution to problems is no longer valid. The majority of the American people have not as yet accepted this fact, or if they are aware of its invalidity, they have not as yet translated that awareness into appropriate behavior. Moreover, the leadership structure of education has done little to translate this basic change in premise into learning experiences whose results correlate with appropriate objectives. We do not appear to be making any significant progress in replacing confrontation with reason and deliberation even at lower levels.

This cursory introduction to causes for concern is intended to stimulate memory and, combined with a host of other factors within your knowledge, should permit agreement on one major conclusion about our present circumstances: international education thus far has been a stunning failure when viewed in terms of the behavior of a vast majority of the American people.

What Internationalism and Interculturalism Are and Are Not

Education recognizes political expediency and the need for national security. However, the focus of education's involvement is our "fundamental concern for understanding better the human condition in the modern world as a vital element in advancing the cause of world peace and therefore the welfare of the citizens of the United States" (Morehouse). Ideally, this understanding of the human condition should characterize individual behavior. Therefore, internationalism or interculturalism are frames of mind, attitudes, concepts of oneself as a member of an international community. They imply valuing cooperation as more important than competition; they mean behaving interdependently rather than independently. They are embodied in the principle that was introduced by the International Education Act: that "to be educated in America it is necessary to be educated as a citizen of the international community." It is community membership that transcends national boundaries.

Interculturalism is a necessary corollary of internationalism; it embodies an attitude that transcends national and cultural barriers. Interculturalism is implied in the assertation that:

> The American student and citizen must learn to adapt himself to a world order in which his own culture is one of many cultures each with its own validity and virtue. (Hamblin)

It is therefore a significant attitude to develop in a situation of racial or cultural conflict occurring within national boundaries. Our greatest internal problem of interculturalism is inextricably interlinked to internationalism.

> It should be increasingly clear to all peoples of the world that mankind's only hope for enduring peace must be based on the recognition that the significant problems of all peoples--of all races, all colors, all religions, all cultural backgrounds--may have implications for all others. (NASULGC)

The question that must now be addressed in order to clarify the components of an international attitude and to develop the objectives of workable programs is: what qualities and behaviors characterize a citizen of an international and/or intercultural community?

A Case for International/Intercultural Dimensions in Education

I do not believe we can solve the compelling and persistent problems of American society if we attempt to solve them in isolation from the world. (If all I thought I needed to solve serious social problems was a microcosm of society's ills, I wouldn't have to leave my home in Alabama). Simply stated, I do believe that the world is the laboratory in which we can most effectively research, develop and prove our approaches to the most serious problems of our times. My position is simply:

> Far too many people make important decisions on bases of irrelevant or incorrect data. These people will change the basis on which they make decisions only when they comprehend that differences such as race, first language, accent, and socio-economic background are transcended by many commonalities of mankind, including: the basic will to survive, the preservation and enhancement of the phenomenal self, the need to be able to communicate with others, the desire to enjoy the benefits of civilization, and aspiring to contribute to the society of which each is a part (when given the opportunity to do so).

People must change, but many probably will not; nevertheless each succeeding generation need not be miseducated from an incorrect and folkloric premise (of ethnocentrism) which pervades much of our education today.

Significant progress will be made when instructional personnel at all levels, elementary, secondary and college are trained and committed to educate for societal and world responsibilities. However, the content and methodology in most preparation programs bears little relation to this objective.

In my opinion, most of our critical societal problems, especially racial discrimination, will be assisted toward solution by educating individuals to behavior that is characterized by not only an understanding of but indeed the acceptance and valuation of the commonality of mankind. This type of education should ultimately result in a convergence of the minds of all peoples on the fact that they are inextricably interlinked, interdependent and responsible to one another; and that duplicity, however grandiloquent, is counterproductive to survival of civilization in our complex, highly differentiated society. The attainment of a minimally acceptable education is precluded if the intercultural-international dimension is omitted.

I do not suggest that this is the single best approach to solving our domestic problems; I simply plead that if the total approach omits the international/intercultural dimension, that it represents a fragmented approach that in the long run will represent far less success than the minimal acceptable level.

Indeed, America is a microcosm of the world: rich/poor, slums/wealthy suburbs, good schools/poor schools, prejudice/tolerance, good jobs/bad jobs, selfishness/altruism. Societal problems cannot be solved until man identifies with mankind. We can seek lasting solutions by looking at the problems of the world and in most cases, considering America as a part of the world;otherwise we merely cloak cultural imperialism.

Paraphrasing Harold Taylor, other reasons can be extracted for supporting interculturalism and internationalism:

1. Practically, to ensure the continuity of civilization as we know it before we blow it up: by "involvement and initiative in world education to achieve a common understanding

among cultures, nation-states, and societies through cooperative educational programs."

2. Morally, to share what we know with others to help to bring about social and economic security for all men and, in the process, adapt and reshape and re-examine our own knowledge and, hence, be better able to solve many of our own problems.

3. Intellectually, to comprehend more fully our own culture and its relation to others through the "injection of new knowledge and ideas from one culture into another," thereby giving greater vitality to both.

Our Status

In examing our status, Commager's observation referring to our approach to the problems of our relations to the rest of mankind is vital: "never in history, it can be confidently asserted, have so many been exposed to so much, with results so meager." We have done much, e.g.:

1. Most schools and colleges have attempted to educate the young to a sense of their membership in the whole human race and their global responsibilities; most elementary schools "teach" non-U.S. history, geography, etc., (social studies); most secondary schools teach the social sciences, modern languages, problems of democracy, etc.: most colleges teach area studies, languages and many, many other "courses" with an intercultural flavor. Information of great magnitude is provided.

2. More news and up-to-date information than ever before bombards masses of people from the most highly developed media system in history: TV, newspapers, radio, magazines, etc.

3. Simply stated, people have more information than they have ever had before, and we operate from a premise that we are thereby creating a society that does not include people who are intolerant to peoples of different color, culture, faith, linguistic backgrounds and political ideologies.

The Great Inconsistency

Many educational leaders and teachers--elementary, secondary, and higher--are assuming that because people have information at their disposal,

that it does indeed influence (and guide) their behavior. There is contrary evidence, however, for we do not yet infallibly "resort to the councils of reason to solve national and/or international difficulties." (Commager) John Useem found factual knowledge the least significant dimension of understanding across cultures; yet our approach to learning subsumes behavioral changes from the production of the "little walking world almanac" that Leonard Kenworthy describes. Phillip E. Jacob in the research studies summarized in Changing Values in College presents substantial arguments against the implicit belief that the acquisition of knowledge realizes corresponding development of appropriate affective behavior. Evidence further suggests, however, that affective behaviors do develop when appropriate educative experiences are provided much the same as cognitive behaviors develop (Bloom, Krathwohl and Masia).

The methodology of attitude change is well known and while exposure to information is considered the least effective of the known methods, there are certain conditions under which information-giving has proved to be effective:

- when an attitude or value is not firmly entrenched

- when change is congruent with the individual need system

- when change is acceptable to peers or important to others

- when the source of information is highly respected.

Too often, however, our investigation has not determined the presence of these conditions and our information glances off unheeded.

Other methods have been largely unexplored for the classroom. We have not wholeheartedly attempted to train and/or recruit teachers who are behavior models of internationalism or interculturalism. Behavioral consequences and cognitive-affective dissonance are methodologies sometimes unconsciously, but rarely consistently, employed, and certainly rare in the context of the intercultural attitudes and behavior.

Charles Frankel lucidly describes our dilemma as "there was a time when Americans had a choice: to educate for world responsibility or not to do so. This freedom of choice is no longer theirs. Whatever they do, they make a decision that has international impact. . . schools educate or mis-educate for world responsibility but they cannot avoid doing one or the other."

What Are Some Questionable Premises ?

One of my colleagues, Dr. Carlton Bowyer, reminds us that we all operate from some philosophical premise whether we realize it or not. I

believe there are several premises from which many people operate--often without awareness--which they should question and begin to replace. In creating programs to produce "internationalism" and "interculturalism", I suggest that among the most important are these:

| QUESTIONABLE PREMISE | EXPLORATORY (OR NEW) PREMISE |
|---|---|
| 1. Possession of information changes behavior; "knowledge" results in better understanding of the human condition. | 1. Possession of information must be accompanied by corresponding affective learning experiences in order for behavior to reflect understanding of the human condition. |
| 2. Organized learning can only take place in classrooms. | 2. The world is the "campus" of schools and colleges. The curriculum of this campus can be organized effectively. |
| 3. International education is an area of study. | 3. International education is an attitudinal dimension of all areas of study. |
| 4. In order to do anything new or different in education "new" money is required. | 4. Most needed changes in education would result from ceasing to do much of what we now do and replacing it with what is more needed. |
| 5. All people need to be prepared to work at productive jobs.* | 5. Most people are not needed in the economic structure to make money at jobs; they should be prepared to make life more worthwhile. |
| 6. Global conflict is still an alternative if difference cannot be solved otherwise. | 6. Loss of liberty and destruction of civilization is the net result for all of mankind in a nuclear confrontation. When defeat is imminent, extremes become alternatives. |
| 7. Dramatic change can occur only through revolution; the establishment is so entrenched that change can never be rapid, but only evolve. | 7. American institutions are unique in that they have the capacity to incorporate avenues for change. Negating this capacity breaks faith with the historic function of American institutions; facilitating this capacity is imperative in times of social crisis. |

*As distinguished from work, i.e. a job is to make money, and work may be only to make life more worthwhile.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. A man is prepared for the future if he is vocationally competent (can make a living), can vote with a modicum of intelligence, is functionally literate and not a "trouble-maker." | 8. "The educated person can no longer function as a contributing member of society without knowledge and experience concerning other peoples and other cultures. The forces and factors of the international scene underscore the importance of a citizenry informed about and sensitive to other peoples." (Goodson) Every man must recognize that his behavior is vitally interrelated to the welfare of all men. |
| 9. Leadership and instructional personnel in education will develop, improve and change if a strong leader tells them to and manipulates the system so that congruous behavior is rewarded by the system. | 9. Professional people identify more with their profession (discipline) than they do with an institution or a system. The key leadership function is in creating a climate supportive of change and providing the opportunities and avenues through which improvement can occur, e.g. international/ intercultural experience. |

# Persisting Ideological Issues of Assimilation in America: Implications for Assessment Practices in Psychology and Education *

by

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The assumptions underlying today's educational philosophies for the culturally different child in general, and Mexican-American children specifically, constitute a mixed bag of ideologies concerning the nature of assimilation in America. This mixed legacy, however, can be sorted out into the several major themes of the "melting pot" versus "cultural pluralism." Within the general melting pot category there are two major variants, i.e., whether what is to be the result of the melting is either exclusive or permissive. Within the cultural pluralists' category, two major themes may also be noted, i.e., whether pluralism is of either a mandatory or optional character.

Each of these notions will be briefly described from a historical perspective for the purposes of identifying their impact on conclusions drawn from sociological, anthropological and psychological data derived from Mexican-Americans. The effect of these notions and conclusions on educational practice and philosophy will be described and, furthermore, the cultural pluralists' position will be redefined in order to delineate the ideals of democratic cultural pluralism and biculturalism in education.

## The Exclusivist Melting Pot: Anglo-Conformity

The exclusivist Anglo-Conformity (3) view of the melting pot has a variety of notions concerning racial superiority, exclusionist immigration policies, etc., but its central assumption rests on the desirability of maintaining English institutions (as modified by the American Revolution), the English language and English oriented cultural patterns. This view of the melting pot is exclusive in that assimilation is viewed as desirable only if the Anglo-Saxon cultural pattern is taken as the ideal.

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The exclusive Anglo-Conformity view of America as a crucible into which all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups would melt received its fullest expression during the so-called "Americanization" movement which swept the United States during World War I and carried on into the 1920's and 30's. While the Americanization movement had more than one emphasis, essentially it was an attempt at "pressure-cooking" assimilation (8), in that it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and make him over into an American in the Anglo-Saxon image. The exclusionist tone and flavor of the Americanization movement can be vividly appreciated in the writings of one of the more noted educators of that day, E. P. Cubberly (4). This educator (for whom, incidentally, there is a building at Stanford University named in his honor) characterized the new Southern and Eastern European immigrants as "illiterate," "docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative," presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government and proper education." American life was thought by Cubberly to have been made difficult by the presence of these new groups:

> . . . Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, and to set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth. (p. 15-16)

These remarks by Cubberly have been somewhat lengthily recorded because they exemplify the ideological precursors for the assumptions underlying many of today's efforts to rationalize the relatively low academic achievement of many Mexican-American children and have molded the character of current efforts at compensatory education. For example, Cubberly's remarks imply that the "manners," "customs" and "observances," existing in the child's home and community, i.e., his culture, are inferior and need to be replaced and implanted, "in so far as can be done," to use Cubberly's own phrase, with the Anglo-Saxon cultural ideal.

Despite aspirations to "objectivity" these ideological strains continue to pervade the social sciences in one form or another. As a current example, one has only to refer to Celia Heller's book entitled, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (10). The anthropological study of Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (13) in 1951 serves as one of the important bases on which Heller arrives at a number of conclusions about

Mexican-American youth. Thus, she supports the conclusion that "Mexican-Americans are the least Americanized of all ethnic groups in the United States and that this condition is largely the result of the child rearing practices of the Mexican-American family." If Mexican-Americans are to be "Americanized," according to Heller, their socialization practices must be changed. Heller concludes that Mexican-American homes "fail to provide independence training," that the "indulgent attitudes" of Mexican-American parents tend to "hamper" their "need for achievement," etc. In noting the characteristic of strong kinship ties among Mexican-Americans she concludes that "this type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility" (p. 35). Clearly, from Heller's statements, it is the socialization practices of the Mexican-American child's ability to profit from the school especially from the viewpoint of Anglo-American middle-class culture and aspirations. The basic point that needs to be established is simply that the focus of attack has been on the socialization practices of the Mexican-American home and community and that the basis of attack has been the persisting exclusivist Anglo-Conformity views of the melting pot.

The Permissive Melting Pot

While the exclusive Anglo-Conformity version of the melting pot has probably been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America, a competing viewpoint with somewhat more generous and idealistic overtones has had its adherents and proponents from the eighteenth century onward. Conditions in the virgin continent were modifying the institutions which the English colonists brought with them from the mother country. Immigrants from non-English homelands such as Sweden, Germany and France were similarly exposed to this new environment. Thus, starting with the French-born writer, Crevecoeurs, in 1782, a new social theory of America as a melting pot came into being. Was it not possible, Crevecoeurs asked, to think of the evolving American Society not simply as a slightly modified England but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically, in which stocks and folkways of Europe were, figuratively speaking, indiscriminately (permissively) mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and melted together by the fires of the American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type? This idealistic and ostensibly permissive notion of the melting pot became one of the forces for the open-door immigration policies of the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century which preceded the influx from Eastern and Southern Europe. But it omitted from consideration two indigenous peoples, the Native Americans and the Mexicans of the Southwest, as well as that group forcibly brought to America, the Afro-Americans. In effect, the ideal type for the permissive view of the melting pot was a type which didn't differ too greatly from the Anglo-Saxon ideal.

The vision projected out of such a melting process was of some new and uniquely "American" cultural phenomenon. Embedded in this new vision, however, was the notion of the supremacy of this new cultural phenomenon. That is, the result of the melting process was envisioned as being superior to any of the individual ingredients before melting. In this connection, some remarks made in 1916 by the noted America educator-philosopher, John Dewey (5), are worthy of examination:

> . . . .I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continuously built up, and made every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.

Thus, Dewey's vision of the superiority of the melted product over the individual ingredients seems easily inferable from his statement, "nobler and finer than itself." It clearly seems to say that one's own cultural heritage is O. K., but when it has melted with others the result is even better. Despite its liberal overtones, the permissive interpretation of the melting pot has carried a hidden message of cultural superiority, i. e., that the uniquely American cultural form which results will be better, if not the best. The message to the child who has not yet "melted" is clearly negative. . .that what he is is not enough, there is something "nobler and finer."

## Cultural Pluralism

Paradoxically, the exclusive and permissive versions of the melting pot hope for an "integrated" nation served to produce the ethnic enclave through the dynamics of prejudice and institutionally sanctioned discrimination. Both views contributed to governmental policies designed to hasten the "Americanization" of all ethnic groups and the unmelted ethnic groups experienced a socially, politically and economically inhospitable climate. One of the central issues in cultural pluralism concerns the right of the minority ethnic group to preserve its cultural heritage without at the same time interfering with "the carrying out of standard responsibilities to general American civic life" (8).

Ethnic groups, however, did attempt to establish communal societies and in order to preserve a corporate identity even solicited Congress as early as 1818 to formally assign national groups to a particular land base (2). However, spurred by the melting pot vision of an integrated national

society, Congress denied these petitions and established the principle that the United States government could not be used to establish territorial ethnic enclaves. Thus, while de jure ethnic communalities could not be, the social forces of prejudice and discrimination laid the basis for the present day de facto communalities which have evolved and maintained their unique cultural styles in communication, human relations, and teaching or child socialization practices. Thus "cultural pluralism" has been a historical fact in American society and continues to the present.

Basically, theories of cultural pluralism fall into two categories, those which are oriented toward a mandatory view, e.g., often associated with separatist or nationalist notions versus those more oriented to pluralism as an optional matter. Each shall be described briefly.

## Mandatory Cultural Pluralism

In a two part essay printed in The Nation in 1915, Kallen (12), one of the earliest of the ethnic cultural pluralists argues that ". . . .the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures " (p. 116). Kallen proposed this to be the more or less inevitable consequence of democratic ideals since individuals are implicated in groups and democracy for the individual most, by implication, also mean democracy for the group. Thus, Kallen interpreted the term "equal" as it appeared in the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble and the Amendments to the Constitution to support the concept of "difference," and asserted that the term "equal" is an affirmation of the right to be different and in this connection coined the term "cultural pluralism." While Kallen's writings have many aspects to them his theme of a "federation of nationalities" with the implication that the individual's fate is predetermined by his ethnic group membership caused some distress among the ranks of the other cultural pluralists.

## Optional Pluralism

Kallen's emphasis on the theme which strongly implied that the individual should retain his ethnic identity caused considerable discomfort, particularly among two other educators who basically subscribed to the theme of cultural pluralism. These two educators, Berkson (2) and Drachsler (6), adopted the position that different ethnic groups should have the right to maintain an ethnic identity and even proposed a variety of ways this might be done, such as ethnic communal centers, after public-school-hour ethnic schools, etc. They both favored efforts by the ethnic community to maintain its communal and cultural life, providing a rich and flavorful

environment for its successive generations and suggested that, furthermore, the government should play a role by instituting in the public schools a program emphasizing knowledge and appreciation of the various cultures. This idea of the legitimization of numerous ethnic communities and their cultures was labled by Drachsler, "cultural democracy" which, he felt, should be added to older ideas of political and economic democracy. These ideas of democracy, according to him, implied the idea of freedom of choice. Here is where the earlier cultural pluralists introduced what shall be called the irrelevant dilemma of choice when it is applied to education, particularly at the time the child enters school. These two educators put the issue this way: while cultural pluralism may be democratic for groups, how democratic is it for individuals, since the choice of whether to melt or assimilate should be a free one?

That this question of choice is still with us today can be seen in the work of Milton Gordon (8) from whose book "Assimilation in American Life", published in 1964, the present author has drawn liberally. Gordon's own remarks in his concluding chapter should be fully quoted in order to clearly identify this dilemma of choice:

> The system of cultural pluralism has frequently been described as 'cultural democracy' since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and subcultural values. . . however, we must also point out that democratic values prescribe free choice not only for groups, but also for individuals. That is, the individual, as he matures and reaches the age where rational decision is feasible, should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of communality or branch out. . . change. . .move away, etc. Realistically, it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for the child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values. . . (p. 262-263).

Gordon's statement, "that it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for a child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values," borders on those notions often applied to Mexican-Americans, i.e., they are "clannish," "stick to their own kind," "refuse to become American," etc. Furthermore, it reflects a lack of awareness of the newly evolving notion of biculturality (1). Quite in contrast to Gordon's observations, the more typical picture in the American public school is that it confronts the Mexican-American child with the necessity of choosing at a stage in his life when such "mature and rational decisions" are not possible. Finally, Gordon's statements ignore the other possibilities, namely, that if the mainstream en-

vironment abides by the ideal of democratic cultural pluralism it will permit itself to be explored by means of different cultural forms and loyalties. As far as the educational picture today is concerned, particularly as it affects many Mexican-American children, the institution continues to maintain policies of exclusion, omission, and prohibition which deny the Mexican-American child his culturally democratic right to freely explore the mainstream cultural environment with those cultural forms and loyalties he has learned at home and in his community.

The version of cultural pluralism that is to be examined in the following section is more properly called, democratic cultural pluralism. The goal of democratic cultural pluralism, as far as education is concerned, is biculturalism.

## Biculturalism: The Education Goal of Democratic Cultural Pluralism

Figure I reviews the set of assumptions underlying the goal of biculturalism in education.

The left-most section of Figure 1 denotes a characteristic of the community, i.e., for example, the degree to which traditional Mexican values predominate (traditional), whether both Anglo-American and Mexican-American values are more or less equally present, (transitional), or whether Anglo-American values predominate, (urban).

These clusters of values in a given Mexican-American community are considered to be determinants of the socialization or child rearing practices of the home and community, as can be noted in the next portion of Figure 1 labeled "socialization practices of home and community." It is our assumption that the cultural values predominating in the community strongly influence child socialization practices in four distinct areas: (1) communication style, e.g., whether English or Standard Spanish or Barrio Spanish is spoken or any combination of these, (2) human relation styles, e.g., the importance of the extended family, the degree of personalism, etc., (3) incentive-motivational style, i.e., those methods which the child learns as appropriate for obtaining support, acceptance and recognition in his home and community and (4) the methods or styles of teaching that the child experiences from his mother, father, siblings, the extended family, etc.

Each of these four general categories or factors are further assumed to determine four important characteristics of the child described under the general heading "Learning Style of the Child." It is these four important, firmly developed, general characteristics with which the child enters school: (1) a preferred mode of communicating, e.g., speaking Spanish only, some or Barrio Spanish, non-Standard English, etc., (2) a preferred

Figure 1

| Variations in Cultural Values | Socialization Practices of Home and Community | Learning Style of Child | Areas of Change for Creating a Culturally Democratic Educational Environment |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Traditional | 1. Communication style | 1. Preferred mode of communication | 1. Communication |
| 2. Transitional | 2. Human Relational Style | 2. Preferred mode of relating | 2. Human Relation |
| 3. Urban | 3. Incentive Motivational Style for obtaining support, acceptance and recognition | 3. Incentive preference | 3. Incentive motivation |
| | 4. Teaching style | 4. Preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering and problem-solving | 4. Teaching and curriculum |

mode of relating to others such as expecting personalized direction from adults, etc., (3) a preference for certain incentives over others, e.g., he might be more inclined to be motivated by rewards emphasizing achievement for the family over achievement for the self, group versus individual goals, etc., and finally (4) a cluster of cognitive characteristics which reflect his preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering and problem-solving.

It is our observation that the conflict many Mexican-American children experience centers in one or more of these four areas because most educational institutions are characterized by educational styles--preferred modes of communicating, relating, motivating and teaching--which are more characteristic of the Anglo-American middle-class culture and that these styles are considered, by virtue of one form or another of the melting pot ideology, to be the ideal modes which all children must acquire. If the child possesses different modes he is then viewed as "culturally deficient," "culturally impoverished," "passive," "lacking in achievement motivation," "having a language handicap" or, more brutally, "mentally retarded." If the educational policy of the school is one which either excludes, ignores or prohibits expression of modes different from the ideal, we characterize it as a culturally undemocratic educational environment for any child whose modes of relating, communicating, motivation and learning are different from the preferred educational style of the school.

The last section, then, delineates those areas for change in the school environment: (1) communication, (2) human relations, (3) incentive-motivation and (4) teaching and curriculum. These changes, in order for them to provide a culturally democratic educational environment for the Mexican-American child, must be such that they facilitate, incorporate and adapt to the learning style of the child as outlined in the immediately preceding portion of Figure 1.

With this type of analysis, it is possible to specify those areas of institutional change that the school must consider if it is to provide a culturally democratic educational environment ensuring equal educational opportunity for any child. Furthermore, this version of the concept of cultural democracy, as far as the school is concerned, simply means the right of each child to experience an educational environment which accepts his preferred modes of relating, communicating, motivation and learning as equally important. Under this version of cultural democracy in education, the goal of education is biculturalism. By biculturalism is meant that the child is allowed to freely explore modes of the mainstream culture by means of those preferred modes he brings to school from his home and community. Thus, this notion of cultural democracy or, democratic cultural pluralism, in education clearly indicates a bicultural educational environment for any school which is confronted with the responsibility of

providing equal educational opportunities for children whose home and community are culturally different from that of the mainstream.

## Some Historical Antecedents

One of the earliest pieces written in the United States by a psychologist which was concerned with instructing teachers about the "cognitive styles" of children was entitled, "The Contents of Children's Mind" by G. Stanley Hall (9). Contrary to the popular beliefs of the time, Hall believed that the thinking of children was different from that of adults, not simply a miniature cognitive versions of adults, and that the best way for the teacher to acquire information about the unique or cognitively different modes in children was for her to study (assess) the child himself. Hall's study, reported in "The Content of Children's Minds" dealt with children in the Boston public schools in the early 1880's. In this connection, he developed a questionnaire method (which is now considered to be the forerunner of many of today's psychological tests) and one which would be easily used by teachers. His basic assumption in conducting the study was that curricular planning and development in teaching methods must be based on the recognition that the thought content and process of the child differed from that of the adult. It is interesting to note that Hall did not assume, and presumably the Boston public schools educators also, that such differences implies that children were "disadvantaged" in any particular way, but simply that the content and processes of his thought differed from that of adults. On the basis of the information acquired through Hall's questionnaire method the Boston public schools could create an educational environment that was compatible with the child's cognitive characteristics--he was accepted as he was and it was the school's obligation to modify its educational style and process accordingly.

Unfortunately subsequent developments in the decades following Hall's pioneering work led the educational testing movement in the United States along lines of a different order. Rapid developments in statistical methods, the impact of such work as Galton, Cattell, Thurstone, Pearson, Binet, Wechsler and the increasing pressure on the schools for evaluation, etc., all served to contribute to the comprehensive education testing program in the public schools which focused on the measurement of intelligence, ability and achievement. The emphasis of this work permitted the development of quantitatively based descriptions of children, e.g., "average," "below average," "dull average," etc. Such classification schemes gave impetus for newer educational descriptions, e.g., "gifted," "slow learner," "underachiever," "educable mental retardate," etc., and which served as the foundation for such educational practices as tracking, ability grouping, special education classes for the varieties of "educable" or "trainables" mentally retarded children. More recently varieties of these tests of ability, intelligence and achievement, have been used for purposes of identifying,

selecting and evaluating many aspects of the compensatory educational program for the minority poor, Head Start and Project Follow Through (14).

The rather technical and somewhat esoteric aspects of these tests, as well as the fact that due to the manner in which many of these tests were standardized, essentially on children of the middle class, has had two major consequences. First, a barrier was created between the individual teacher and the intent, meaning and potential value of the tests due, essentially, to the evolution of a sophisticated technical super-structure describable in a new and special language and set of concepts and the increasing restrictions imposed on their use by the newly evolving professional group of psychometrists, educational psychologists, etc. Secondly, the preponderance of testing, focussing as it did on ability, achievement and intelligence with instruments which reflected the linguistic and communication styles, the human relation and teaching styles of the middle-class community precluded the teacher from getting information along these dimensions on the children of the poor and culturally different. In our present terminology the testing movement has been culturally undemocratic in that tests developed and standardized on the minority poor and culturally different, reflecting their communication, human relation and learning styles have not been part of the fabric.

Recent Developments in Cultural Influences on Learning and Incentive-Motivational Styles

By implication, a culturally democratic educational environment is one which is knowledgeably prepared to teach the culturally different child--or any child for that matter--in his (a) preferred mode of communicating, (b) preferred mode of relating and (c) preferred mode of obtaining support, acceptance and recognition and (d) his preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering and problem solving. Unless school assessment programs provide the teacher of the culturally different child with pertinent information in these areas, her professional function as a teacher will be compromised. Assessment programs guided by the psychologist can be devised so as to provide the teacher with such information and the connecting concepts which link these four areas to the educational process of the school. For the present purposes, however, we shall restrict our review to the latter two dimensions, incentive-motivational and cognitive styles.

In a rather comprehensive study, Stodolsky and Lesser (15), first grade children representing membership in four different ethnic groups, i.e., Chinese, Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican were tested with a variety of "intellectual ability" measures. Their interest was in determining the presence of differential patterns of ability among the four groups. Their results showed, for example, that in the case of Jewish children, their

pattern of abilities reflected a greater strength in verbal ability and weakest in spatial conceptualization. Chinese children, on the other hand, exhibited a pattern just the reverse of that of the Jewish children; they were relatively strong on spatial conceptualization and weaker in the verbal dimension. In addition, these differential patterns were found to remain essentially the same for the children within the same cultural group regardless of whether they were of low or middle socio-economic background.

One interpretation of these findings would be one that stresses that these differential patterns relate to differences associated with preferred modes of learning and which are those that are differentially stressed within a given cultural group. That is, the different cultural groups differ in their teaching styles in that they produce differences in the preferred modes of perceiving, remembering, thinking and problem solving (preferred modes of learning); one cultural group (Jewish) stresses the verbal dimension, the other (Chinese) the spatial dimension.

Is this important information for the teacher to know ? Our answer would be that it is inordinately better than an I. Q. or achievement score in that it has more direct implication for teaching strategies or teaching styles. Thus, a teacher, in the case of Chinese children may find it advantageous to stress the spatial dimension as a framework for devising curriculum plans. That is, she would utilize this dimension as a preferred vehicle for learning for Chinese children. Of course, this is precisely the underlying principle in the Montessori method, at least that aspect which utilizes the tactile dimension as a vehicle for learning. The difference, however, is that the Montessori method makes the priori assumption that this is the preferred mode of learning for all young children. Our point is that it is necessary to determine for what groups of children this is the preferred mode of learning.

At this juncture it is critical to point out that the issues is not which should be the preferred mode of learning. From the schools administrative point of view one mode of learning may be preferred because it simplifies the administrative-managerial problems of the school. Where this view is the guiding policy, it disenfranchises those children with preferred modes of learning which differ from the schools preferred mode of teaching.

If we now focus our attention on evidence for culturally determined incentive-motivational preferences, more specifically along the dimension of relating cooperatively, versus competitively, a study by Kagan and Madsen (11) represents a case in point. Competitive and cooperative behavior was studied in three groups of children of three different cultural groups, i. e., Anglo-American, Mexican-American and Mexican children. Thus, he found that performance on a simple task depended on whether reward was obtainable through cooperation or competition when reward

could be achieved only through cooperative behavior, performance on the task was best among Mexican children, next best among Mexican-American children with the Anglo-American children achieving the lowest scores. However, and with the same task employed, when rewards could be obtained only through competitive behavior the position of superiority in performance was completely reversed. Under these conditions the Anglo-American children performed best, Mexican-American children next best and the Mexican children obtained the lowest performance scores.

Kagan and Madsen's study then offers some specific evidence for viewing different cultural groups for the presence of differences in incentive-motivational systems which determine the mode for obtaining recognition, support or acceptance from the environment. Is this important information for the teacher to know? Our answer is, yes, in view of the fact that it helps to delineate and specify for the teacher some of the important dimensions she should consider in her attempts to analyze the critical dimensions, for different groups of children, which comprise the "student-teacher" relationship. It is information which can provide her with suggestions for creating incentive and reward conditions which are culturally appropriate for different cultural groups of children. On the basis of Kagan and Madsen's study, for example, Anglo-American children are more effectively motivated by conditions which stress competitively obtainable incentives. On the other hand, Mexican-American and Mexican children are more effectively motivated by conditions which stress cooperatively obtained incentives.

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Review of Teachers For the Real World[1]

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The request was for a critical review--so that is just what this is going to be.

Compared with most committee reports, Teachers for the Real World is a praiseworthy effort; but the times demand more than this from the education profession today. Because of our past evasion of responsibilities, our unwillingness to change schools and colleges, it is now five minutes to midnight. Considered in this context, this book is one more piece of evidence that, as a profession, we are in danger of settling for a normal necessary adjustment in teacher education while avoiding a searching examination of basic educational problems at all levels.

While much of the public has reached the conclusion that our present schooling process from first grade to graduate school is obsolete, we are still talking about two more courses for systematically analyzing teaching the way it now exists. Furthermore, we have been so engulfed by the problems of poverty, the inner city, and minority groups that we have failed to see our larger failure with all children and all people. It is, of course, urgent that we be concerned with our inner cities, but the seriousness of the social crisis we are now in ought to cause us to ask some larger questions: Why is it that in the most schooled society in history our people tolerate slums? Why have we so little perception of justice? Why hasn't schooling given our people compassion and a sense of oneness with our fellowmen? The fact is that, as educators, our failure with the white middle class is as basic as our failure with the poor and the black.

From my experience in visiting schools in many parts of the country this past year while working for the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I am more and more raising the question Harry Fox voiced after seeing Frederick Wiseman's documentary film, High School:[2] "Are schools as such really the best way of educating the young, or anyone else for that matter?" The authors of Teachers for the Real World make the same mis-

[1]Reprinted by permission from The Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. XXI, Number 1 (Spring, 1970).

[2]Wiseman, Frederick. High School. Cambridge, Mass. OSTI, 1969.

take as others who have written about remaking teacher education: they neglect a most vivid truth, that teacher education is inextricably interwoven with elementary and secondary education. You can't propose changes in a program for one without rooting these changes in beliefs about the other. You may recall that this was a major criticism of Conant's The Education of American Teachers.[3]

The book would have had an entirely different thrust if its purpose had been to describe a teacher education plan to produce teachers who would reform the schools. To accomplish this, the authors would have had to state some value judgments about the kind of schools needed to make education relevant for the seventies or, at least, the changes that should be made in the present scholastic establishment to have it begin to look like an educational system. . .

My first hand impression of many of our high schools, especially in the inner cities, is that they are ready to blow sky high. At one time, teachers acting as policemen could keep the lid on 3,000 students, all confined within three acres of brick and mortar, but this is no longer possible. There's a whole world of education outside the school building that makes the school environment a more dramatic contradiction than ever before. Books like Kozol's Death at an Early Age, Kohl's 36 Children, and Fuch's Teachers Talk,[4] which "tell it like it is," and Dennison's The Lives of Children and Hart's The Classroom Disaster,[5] which tell it like it could be, are available to all.

Information now belongs to everyone, including the students. The day when a few people could control a situation, because they controlled the information, is gone. No one is permitted the privilege of remaining ignorant, and no one is permitted the privilege of inaction. In today's world we know, and once knowing and not acting, we in fact act; if we don't it's because we choose not to. Besides, teachers will no longer put up with being policemen; they want to be teachers.

According to Coleman's recent education opportunities studies,[6] about 50 percent of the Negro children in our major cities in this country never complete high school. The National Advisory Committee on

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[3]Conant, James, The Education of American Teachers. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

[4]Kozol, J. Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools. Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin, 1967; Kohl, H. 36 Children. New York: New American Library, 1968; Fuchs, E. Teachers Talk: Views from Inside City Schools. New York: Doubleday, 1969.

[5]Dennison, George. The Lives of Children: The Story of the First Street School. New York: Random House, 1969; Hart, L. The Classroom Disaster. New York: Teachers College, 1969.

[6]Coleman, James S. Equality of Educational Opportunity. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Unnumbered report. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

Mexican-American Education reports that the average Mexican-American child in the southwest drops out of school by the seventh year; and in Texas, 89 percent of the children with Spanish surnames who start school do not complete the 12th grade.

Our schools in the suburbs as well as the cities are presently set up to produce winners and losers. Many of our youngsters are doomed to failure before they start: their preformance is judged against some preconceived average student, or the other 30 or 40 in their class, rather than against their own achievement in relation to their own abilities. None of us as adults would continue to play a game we had no chance of winning; yet, we expect some of our students to do this every day. Failure at something we have the potential to do can be a learning experience, but mandated failure--continuous interface with tasks personally impossible to accomplish--is slow death. It is this dehumanizing environment that defeats the children of the poor and leaves the children of the rich with no great sense of responsibility for others. We have to change this if we really believe the school's primary purpose is to help all the children of all the people develop as unique human beings in terms of their capacities to grow. We need a new kind of teacher education to do it; and I didn't find a description of that kind of program in Teachers for the Real World.

My quarrel is not with the plan defined in the report but with the conservativeness of the reforms it proposes. For example, it doesn't take much analysis to come to the conclusion that racism pervades the scholastic establishment; all one has to do is look at the racial isolation being perpetuated by the schools as they now exist. As excerpts from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders indicate:[7] "By 1975, it is estimated that, if current policies and trends persist, 80 percent of all Negro pupils in the twenty largest cities, comprising nearly one-half of the nation's Negro population, will be attending 90 to 100 percent Negro schools." In the light of these facts, I am not so concerned that future teachers learn to intellectualize about racism and all its attendant ramifications as I am that they develop the courage and professional commitment to do something about racism wherever they find it--in the suburbs as well as the cities, in Vermont as well as New York.

Because the book lacks a basic commitment to a "new" kind of school, it is limited in its discussion of all other educational concepts. Notable is its cursory discussion of differentiated staffing, which is equated with the use of aides to solve the teacher shortage. The author of that chapter falls into the typical approach used now to design nonprofessional jobs and new careers, to take some duties from existing professional positions and use them as a core or base for designing new jobs. The difficulty with this approach is that very often it is not clear what these simpler duties are,

[7]National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders. U.S. Riot Commission Report. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968.

whether the people who now perform them wish to relinquish them, or whether they are so integrated with more difficult tasks that they cannot easily be separated out. Furthermore, existing teaching specialists in education do not meet the needs at which they are presently aimed. There is room for new careers, and the needs are even broader than the profession now assumes them to be. Right now, while reassessment of the education profession is being called for, is the time to expand the concept of new careers in education.

However, most activities and projects to date that have attempted to develop new careers have shown great weakness and limitation in the design of both nonprofessional and professional positions in relationship to career advancement opportunities. Part of the reason for this is that the education profession, which has the responsibility for the design and description of new careers, has confined the definitions of positions to the present conceptions of schools and colleges. Presently, proposed performance standards and training curricula--the essential elements in the design of sound new careers--are too often rooted in staff utilization concepts based on a shortage of teachers rather than in improved learning opportunities for children and youth through the introduction of new learning and teaching specialists. The short-term impact of such an approach is even more evident when viewed in relation to data in the recent U.S. Commissioner of Education's Report,[8] which indicates that by 1975 there will be no quantitative teacher shortage based on present teacher-pupil ratios but rather a qualitative shortage of educational personnel. Hechinger's column in the New York Times of September 14[9] reporting why the long teacher shortage is finally ending, and its implications, also makes interesting reading in this context. There is a great need for a systematic and effective approach to designing positions and advancement paths that help to create new schools and colleges based on the need to provide for the intellectual personal uniqueness of each child, instead of solidifying old approaches based on the winners-and-losers concept of education that should have been discarded long ago.

This far-reaching concept of differentiated staffing in relationship to career advancement in the profession, and the equally important idea of differentiated staffing as a model for teacher education, are absent from the book.

Back in 1967, The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS) published an example of an instructional organization for teacher education that conceived of differentiated staffing as a training model, with a person becoming a member of a team of teaching specialists as soon as he thought he wanted to teach. Youth-teaching-youth programs, which are developing rapidly today in elementary and secondary schools, are a further extension of this idea. The prospective teacher could begin as a tutor; then assistant teacher; an intern; a

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[8]U.S. Commission of Education. The People Who Serve Education. U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Report No. PS5.210:10059. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968.

[9]Hechinger, Fred M. New York Times, September 14, 1968.

a co-teacher; a resident; and finally, a teaching specialist. Each career teacher would move in and out of a teacher education program for continuous reeducation throughout his career as he advanced or moved to a new specialty.

If we reform the schools to make learning individualized and personalized, our schools of the future will require a variety of personnel with diverse talents. Teaching teams will be made up of specially trained professionals who will work not only with children and youth but with other teachers. Let me suggest just a few of the new types of teaching specialists I think we will find in some of the schools in the future. To the usual specialization areas of subject matter and age level will be added a variety of specializations that will focus less on the teacher as a content specialist and more on the teacher as a specialist in the nature of learning and the use of learning resources. Teaching staffs in the schools of tomorrow will include research associates, learning diagnosticians, visual literacy specialists, computer-assisted instruction specialists, systems analysis and evaluation experts, specialists in simulation and gaming techniques, information systems and data base designers, community resource and liaison specialists, learning process facilitators, and professional negotiators.

The book comes close to discussing new personnel and a new conception of the college of education in the aforementioned way, but it never deals with the concept of differentiated staffing in depth. A thorough discussion of differentiated staffing would have added a great deal to the notion of the teacher education complex, since many of the new kinds of educational personnel will be relating to other community action agency personnel in the new school, especially if the school and the education complex are conceived of as a community education center, with education being broadly defined for adults as well as children and youth.

The book recommends that teachers read books about the disadvantaged and study the community in order to have a better understanding of the poor and those who are the victims of racism, but it does not suggest what action the teacher, once having grasped and internalized this new knowledge, should take. It views teachers as having their influence in the classroom and says little or nothing about the role of teachers as professionals, as agents of social change outside the school. The book does not consider that teachers for the future may have their greatest influence, not by what they articulate in the classroom but by what they do as men and women--whether or not they square their actions with their reasoned beliefs. Little is included in the proposed plan regarding ways to teach teachers the skills necessary to become instruments of social change in the communities in which their schools exist. In this regard, the Committee has done a disservice in glossing over the importance of such programs as the Teacher Corps, particularly the community education component of the Corps, because of the so-called lack of emphasis on the analysis of experiences while they are engaged in community action programs. I am aware of a Teacher Corps program where the student

corpsmen in order to learn the language of Mexican-American migrant children decided to go into the homes, one to a family, and live in the homes and work in the fields with the parents and children for four months. When they concluded this experience, they not only knew enough of the language to talk with the children and their parents but they also knew something about the culture of the people with whom they were living and learning. They didn't have a microteaching setup or protocol materials, but I know from firsthand acquaintance that, as individuals and a group, these beginning teachers developed a rare professional commitment that could not have come to them without this kind of personal involvement with real problems.

The quality we need most in our teachers today is professional commitment. I don't think we can produce professional commitment through teacher education programs that are described in terms of so many credits, courses, grades, transcripts, diplomas, and certificates. These are mechanical matters that too often become more important than the very people they are intended to serve. The way that I think we will produce teachers with professional commitment is to get them into confrontation situations in the real world and challenge them to build a better world individually and with their peers. This is a scholarly approach to teacher education--developing the ability to identify and use knowledge to make more intelligent decisions about the present and the future. The core of our teacher education curriculum, both preservice and in-service should be the most persistent engagement problems that educational personnel face in their chosen professional roles. The function of the educational institution, or teacher education complex, described in the book should be to facilitate this dynamic process, to help each student examine the alternatives and consequences of his actions, and to provide him assistance in working his way through the conflict situations he is bound to experience if he gets engaged significantly in trying to make the schools relevant for the seventies.

Teachers for the Real World suffers from the same problem that most professional reports suffer from: it was written by a committee. When I completed it, I had one wish--that each of the authors had had the opportunity to write his own book about teacher education, or at least a position paper, without the constraints that must have been placed upon him by trying to meld conflicting points of view together in a single statement. The expectation that the crises identified in the introduction and first chapter would be related directly to a new program of teacher education was not fulfilled. In fact, very few positions are taken in the book, especially on controversial issues. For example, no position was taken on the integration of schools or of the colleges that prepare teachers, the problems of the black colleges and teacher education, and/or the problems of racially isolated white colleges. The book did not suggest that NCATE add a standard in its accreditation procedures that all colleges in order to be approved must provide multiracial experiences for all future teachers and must themselves become demonstration centers for the value of integrated edu-

cation. Neither did it take a stand on the kinds of schools needed. Much was said about systematically analyzing teaching and racism, and a new structure (the education complex) was mentioned, but very little was proposed that would provide a value base for rebuilding education at all levels.

In a world rocked with the most unprecedented explosion of human interaction in history, it is not enough just to suggest the analysis of teaching and more collaboration. We must answer the question, For what? What kind of an educational system do we want for our children and youth, and what kinds of teachers are needed to achieve it?

The thoughts and actions of those of us in the field need to be extended. We look to our professional associations to point the way, to propose and support educational reform. If AACTE has another opportunity such as it had with the National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth and Teachers for the Real World, I hope it will not muff it.

By the way, I am well aware that the criticisms I have made here are of me as well as of thee, for I am a member of this profession. If I weren't, I wouldn't care so much.

## V. THE BLENDING OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AND THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION: TEACHER-LEARNING CENTERS

Discussion centers around the present fragmentation in higher education and gives examples of recent attempts to involve the entire teaching community in the process of teacher - preparation.

In pointing out specific weaknesses and suggesting reforms in the present structures Denemark argues for an approach which makes the school of education an integral part of a total university-community commitment to adequate teacher-preparation.

Perrone and Strandberg describe the assumptions, relationships, and programs connected with the New School's attempt to train skilled teachers providing personalized instructional modes in North Dakota's elementary schools.

Goldsmith lists specific suggestions for a program of early teacher-training centered around the development of: a sense of self and of others (i.e. students) skill in the teaching process; an awareness of the school's inner structures and the relationship of the school to the society.

Arnez describes The Center for Inner City Studies programs as being determined by the needs of the community around it.

The bulletin of the New College of the University of Alabama stresses personal development as a major goal in their personalized depth-study program which cuts across traditional departmental lines.

Orr's brief description of the reorganization of University of Alabama's College of Education is followed by his paper which shows how a program budgeting system would remove many of the constraints on the restructuring of universities.

## V. The Blending of the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Education: Teaching-Learning Centers:

PAUL ORR: In the arena of Higher Education one of the things that impresses me more than anything else is that we keep coming back to something which for the lack of a better word, I will call "general education" or "liberal education." We are saying that one of our big problems in education is that people in general don't understand some of the kinds of things we think they should understand in order to support us so we can do what we think needs to be done. It is sort of like the Parsons model--the output eventually influences the input, and that is the way things change. I wonder if we don't need a better or a different kind of education at the undergraduate level, a better understanding of cultural pluralism on the part of teachers and others. After all seventy or seventy-five per cent of the members of the Legislature in Alabama are graduates of the University of Alabama. But where do we get this input to society-in-general that we are talking about? For the first time in my more than twenty years working in education at one level or another, I think I see some rays of hope, and maybe for the wrong reasons. Colleges of Arts and Sciences are eliminating general education requirements whereas Colleges of Education are not. So that gives us some manpower to work with. The Colleges of Liberal Arts are by and large involved in teacher education, whether they have recognized it or not; the bulk of their enrollment is from teacher education. Since Colleges of Arts and Sciences need our students, that gives us 'clout' with them.

Another thing is happening. To avoid language requirements at the doctoral level we have people in liberal arts Ph. D. programs opting for a twelve-hour block in education and learning, learning "instruction" as a competency to replace a language requirement for a Ph. D. in, say, chemistry; some graduate students are concerned about the general lack of quality of undergraduate instruction. To what extent this is true in the country, I don't know.

VITO PERRONE: Some of the concerns that I have personally about the preparation of teachers deal with fragmentation at the university level and elsewhere--we tend to split off professional education from liberal education, we define teaching and learning in fragmented ways. I look for ways of unifying teacher education that will cause us to begin to define more clearly what teaching and learning means, seeing them as integral pieces. Teacher education also has to deal with the separation between the university and the schools, finding ways for the university to intervene more directly in what goes on in schools and ways for schools to intervene more productively and directly in the ways in which teachers are prepared.

I see education as a device for enriching a person's life; we are beginning to look at ways to do that educationally, other than just in schools. I guess I also see educational institutions as having a primary role in building a major support system for teachers, a support system that will help teachers to continue to grow, personally, and professionally.

DEAN CORRIGAN: I think one of the worst things we have done is the way we have conceived of teacher education in universities. We have divided it up. We tend to divide it into liberal arts (or general education), the professional component and specialization. That gets us into all kinds of trouble. We get into all kinds of meaningless boxes. Some of the new formats--learning centers and teaching centers out in communities--overcome this problem. When you get the sociologist out in the learning center preparing teachers, all the time doing sociology, the whole question of whether sociology is 'liberal arts' or 'professional education' disappears. But if you get him back on the campus, we tend to put it in a course credit structure. At our place in our teaching centers (cf. articles below) we have people from the pediatricsdivision of the hospital doing education courses; the person teaching basic science is from Agriculture. When you get him out in the center, he is preparing teachers, but if you get him back in the campus, he is in that box we put him in. We really have created ourselves a lot of problems by defining the curriculum of teacher education in those three ways, as if they neatly fit into those three boxes.

We keep arguing about how can we get the liberal arts people committed to doing their part. There are some people who say that we ought to give up on that notion and instead of wasting all of our time trying to change those institutions, we ought to create new kinds of institutions that are committed to improving the schools.

PAUL OLSON: I guess that is what Newton College and the Institute on Open Education are partly about.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: Yes. In a sense, whether we are going to create alternate institutions or change the institutions that exist, the fact remains that each of our universities or colleges has an admissions policy, for example, and a recruitment policy, and those policies have tremendous impact on the outcome of who ends up in whatever institutions are created.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: If Federal funding of teacher education focuses only on departments or colleges of education, it will fail in other departments. Perhaps the funders can develop an orientation to, say, departments for the purposes of creating programs oriented to future teachers. You have within a College of Education, educational psychology for psychologists. But traditionally these people have been in conflict with themselves; feeling that they are part of the psychology department in their value orientation. But if one looks at the psychology departments, where do they go for money? NIMH was given money for animal work, physiological work; there is little incentive within the liberal arts psychology departments to reorient toward teacher preparation.

WILLIAM HICKS: I wonder also if it would be possible to develop

hypothetical models of what the teachers ought to be and use this as a basis for developing education programs for training teachers. We tend to compartmentalize our teachers in such a way that they take on varying personalities as they move into different kinds of learning situations. It appears to me that if we could develop some models for successful teachers or good teachers, that we would have a basis for developing blocks of learning experiences that would integrate, say, psychology and methodology into blocks, rather than having our people take isolated courses in one college or another.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: Again,take psychology. It is not going to be that helpful for them to study psychology, even though I am a psychologist. They may learn some abstract principles like the "Principle of Immediate Reward." But some of us feel that in most departments of psychology the course content doesn't reflect the variety of human populations in this country; take courses, for example, in personality theory or projective testing. There is very little information right now that you can pick up on personality dynamics in the Mexican-American on the Rorschach; there is very little normative psychological information on the varieties of Mexican-Americans. The discipline of psychology, like many others, is not equipped to take on teachers.

VITO PERRONE: One of the participants in the videotape presented at this conference expressed the belief that when you become a teacher of teachers, you immediately slip down to second, third, or fourth class citizenship, in the university hierarchy of educational prestige. Is that really true?

PAUL ORR: I don't think there is any question about it. It is definitely true in most institutions, particularly the major institutions. In universities, where there are fairly highly developed Ph. D. programs in practically every department in arts and sciences, there is more interest in research and working with doctoral students than performing any kind of service function. Apparently many people in higher education feel there is something demeaning about providing service. At the same time, though, Colleges of Arts and Sciencesin general are, I think, very threatened, wondering whether they should even exist as they are structured; professional schools are quite a threat to Colleges of Arts and Sciences, if nothing else, in sheer number. By changing the requirements, say, for the preparation of teachers, one can almost eliminate the enrollment in some departments of Arts and Sciences,or triple it.

VITO PERRONE: How do you feel as a parent--how would most parents feel--to be told that preparing people to educate children is a third or fourth rate kind of activity, that colleges and universities don't give very much attention to it or take it seriously? I find it rather degrading--more than that--disgusting.

PAUL ORR: In my view a number of myths have been perpetuated throughout higher education. For example, we still have fairly substantial numbers of people at the University of Alabama who assert that to be a

teacher, all one needs is a "good" liberal arts education. There still are many, many people in higher education who do not recognize a function for a college or department of education.

PAUL OLSON: I was going to ask at this conference if Colleges of Education do have a function any more. Phillipe Aries in Centuries of Childhood gives an account of the changing place children have occupied in European and American society from the fourteenth century to the present. Part of that has to do with the demography of family structures; but part of it has to do with teaching and changes in perceptions of the teacher's role. The teacher's role and the scholar's role were not originally separated. Petrarch and the great twelfth and fourteenth century humanists were, fundamentally, reformers of the schools; they were secondarily scholars and their scholarship came in as a device to reform the educational process. The humanist was a man who shaped the culture by looking to the past, particularly the Graeco-Roman past, to assist him in shaping the culture. Modern teachers in the humanities have almost no conception that they could as scholars and teachers have a role in making things a little more decent or a little more meaningful. That role has been filled by psychotherapy and the commune movement, not by scholars in the humanities.

Aries in part traces the change which led to the abdiction of responsibility by the humanities but he also traces the changing conception of the teacher's role, a change that relates to assigning a sense of third-ratedness to the teacher. The shift from the notion that the teacher is somebody who thinks, talks to people, and thinks with people, to the notion that the teacher is a transmitter of knowledge, essentially a technocrat (somebody who is part of a production line and who does what he is told) did not take place with the arrival of mass education. It did not take place in 1912, 1920 or 1930. It took place, at least if Aries is right, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. That shift gives rise to the notion that teachers are drudges; it also gave rise to the notion that those who train them are functionaries, mining the coal which will keep the industrial diamond factory going.

GEORGE DENEMARK: I wonder if the picture is not changing currently. The pressure from college students to make their own education more relevant and meaningful is having a perceptible impact on many colleges and universities. And the notion that teaching, advisement, and the study of pedagogical principles is a grubby business that interferes with the main function of the professor--research--is being more seriously questioned at this point in history than at any time in my lifetime.

PAUL OLSON: I agree with you. I have a sense also that many students, particularly those of more liberal inclination or who think of themselves as somehow caught up in the education reform, do not think badly of themselves. They do not think they are second-raters. They think of education as a vehicle for changing the world (which also is possibly pretty naive). Their interest has awakened an interest in educational reform in the schools in the Arts and Sciences College people. The same

interest has been awakened in the caucuses in the professional societies. But I hear a great deal of rhetoric about the process of education on the part of my colleagues in Arts and Sciences. I do not find much performance. It seems to me schizoid to say--as we have said structurally, if not explicitly--that we are going to have some people concerned with teaching and they are going to be good teachers, and teach other people to be good teachers, and we are going to have some other people concerned with knowledge, and they are going to be bad teachers who gain a lot of knowledge, i. e. research scholars.

GEORGE DENEMARK: I don't conceptualize the tasks in that way. Pedagogy is concerned with applicative knowledge; it is not unconcerned with the knowledge of the basic disciplines but is concerned with its translation into school curricula and into instruction appropriate at that level. That is one function of Education, but if that were all, one would have, administratively, a department of education rather than a "school" or "college". It would focus on a cluster of instructional things. Its appropriateness as a school or college derives from its liaison and administrative functions--it provides a coordinating agency. In the university it can bring together many units that do have a concern with teacher education; at the same time, it also provides a relationship and makes the arrangements with the school systems, that are so intimately associated with the process.

PAUL OLSON: I would like to talk about function, the notion of an applicative function. I have noticed that "campus radicals" are concentrated in the Colleges of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nebraska, and probably similarly concentrated nationally.

LARRY FREEMAN: That was what irritated Hayakawa.

PAUL OLSON: It is rather easy to be a radical about the reforming of institutions when one does not have structures to relate to and doesn't have to take responsibility for what he says. One can advocate all kinds of social transformations, hassle the dean and president, sit in places and make noises. Unless you have a responsibility to an outside set of institutions, you don't have to translate the rhetoric of demonstration into institutional structures.

I would respect Colleges of Education and Colleges of Agriculture more if they were engaged in some serious social transformation. (cf. Ralph Nader's report on Department of Agriculture policy and Colleges of Agriculture). I would respect Arts and Science people more if they took appointments in Colleges of Education and Colleges of Agriculture. The problem with reserving the applicative or translation function to the Colleges of Education is it leaves the Arts and Sciences professor with the notion that he does not have moral responsibility for the knowledge he bears.

GEORGE DENEMARK: If one were to take the position that work in pedagogy is entirely applicative, one would be wrong. I expect someone like Harry Broudy would take strong issue with it. Certain theoretical, conceptual studies, certain foundational kinds of studies, should be seen as appropriate

to Schools or Departments of Education. Broudy would probably also support your notion that departments "concerned with scholarship in existing disciplines" should also be deeply concerned with the application of this knowledge and the restructuring of institutions in terms of it. An agency like the School of Education may well be needed because of its capacity to bring focus to one broad process of education, to look at it without respect to the traditional boundary lines among the disciplines.

DEAN CORRIGAN: If you were to say to me, "Do we need very close linkages between Colleges of Education and Colleges of Arts and Sciences, should Liberal Arts Colleges be involved in the education of teachers?," I would say, "Without question." If you were to ask, from a historical perspective, "Do I think Colleges of Education came into being because they were really needed as a separate entity?," I would say "No." I would say, "They probably came into being because something needed to be done and was not being done." Now we are trying to figure out how to link the total educational process back together. Sometimes when we talk about organizational structures, we fail to get anywhere because we assume the educational structure extant at the present time. The College of Education at Vermont will have twenty-eighthours of a Bachelor's Degree to prepare an English Education Teacher , in the school. The other 100 to 110 hours is in the Liberal Arts College. It is not that the opportunity is not there for the Liberal Arts College to design learning experiences. The English Department presently decides which courses an English teacher should pursue; it designs those courses not only for teachers, but for others, too. Yet we have not really created an integrated program which focuses on English-and-children in the schools out of this split arrangement. Perhaps we ought to be talking about the organization of the university rather than talking about "Is a College of Education necessary?" or "Is a College of Arts and Sciences necessary as such?" The present organization of most universities is dysfunctional, any way you look at it, in terms of what we are trying to produce. The Colleges of Arts and Sciences are too big to manage. They should be broken down into perhaps three divisions, each with a dean, each with a structure, and then relinked. What we really need is a functional organization rather than a bureaucratic organization. We need program budgeting, rather than budgets on line items to departments which then become locked in and force us to freeze plans before we want to.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: The Center for Inner City Studies is a small school which does bring education and the disciplines together. We still run into conflict with ourselves. For example, our courses may in our minds have some very revolutionary aspects, but they have been taught for the most part in a very traditional manner. The teacher walks into the classroom; there are groups of students that sit there taking notes; one has a discussion or one does not. For the most part, until the student takes his field internship, he doesn't have any real contact with anything but a teacher in a classroom.

We have decided to start in September from a functional standpoint.

We will ignore all of those divisions--course divisions, the divisions between academic work and the community work, etc.--and we are trying to integrate and coordinate the whole operation so that students who are getting credit for classwork will be working with the community. We will have just removed all of those walls. We haven't worked out what we have in mind in every detail (ed. note: cf., in this connection, a description of the New School, University of North Dakota).

VITO PERRONE: Professional education can be liberalizing and the so-called liberal arts can indeed speak to what we typically call the students' commitment to teaching. At the New School we have not made the divisions between the liberal arts and professional education. We have essentially brought a variety of people into some rather different relationships with each other, with schools, and with students. (E.g. this fall, the choreographer of the Winnepeg Royal Canadian Ballet Company will be with us, bringing a dance dimension to our program; we have a senior professor in English joining us for this next year on a half time basis whose field is Shakespeare, but who is also possibly the best potter in the university. His interest will be in learning how one goes about the process of learning and his major vehicle for such an examination may well be pottery.) We have tried to bring to our program people who indeed have authority in real terms, in traditional craft-skills terms, as opposed to power terms: the poet who writes poetry, the potter who does good pottery, etc. For the first time, the literary publication at the University of North Dakota is carrying work by students pursuing elementary education. Many of the exhibits in art are by students in our program. There are ways to create a structure for the preparation of teachers that will bring together liberal arts and professional education people in ways that will be productive of what happens in schools. Creating such a structure will get us to work thinking with children and with young adults; we do not have to turn out an Aries technocrat continuing his effort of transmitting information.

PAUL OLSON: I will be repetitive: The problem with reserving the applicative or translation function to the Colleges of Education is that doing so, in a sense, leaves the Arts and Sciences professor with the notion that there are not moral uses for knowledge and that he doesn't have to take responsibility for what he knows.

You were talking yesterday about renewal. Somehow I think you have to deal with this question about how you create learning communities, both in Colleges of Education and Colleges of Arts and Sciences, and how that spirit is somehow transmitted to the schools.

VITO PERRONE: How many of us are really learners anymore?

JACOB CARRUTHERS: Right.

VITO PERRONE: One of our faculty, a poet who also has an appointment in the department of English, was recently describing to me his real excitement about the area of economics and the work he was doing with some of his students in that area. He had been reading extensively in the area of

economics and carrying out some rather vigorous economic discussions with a variety of faculty. He said to me, "You know, there is something unreal about this situation; I am reading all of this economics stuff while many of my colleagues are poring over D. H. Lawrence again to see if they can find some new nuances for their lectures tomorrow." My point is that we must find formats which will permit more college faculty to become learners again as the poet was becoming a learner. We must try--we are trying to--to create a college community which is a community of learners, as opposed to a community of people with narrow interests and "limited" knowledge. In the university which is supposed to be a center of learning, the professor commonly feels, "I really ought to be preparing for my lecture tomorrow; to do that I ought to read again that same book that I have been reading for twenty-five years; that is what I am paid to do. I am not paid to be a fresh learner, to extend my interests in new fields."

JACOB CARRUTHERS: We as professional people are fragmented people trying to build whole people. But as fragmented people trying to build whole people, we build alienation into the process of education;--the process of education is a process of alienation. Through it, the student becomes alienated from his parents (we teach him that his parents don't know anything because they aren't professionals). Through education, we also undermine our own sense of competence because we stand before our classes as fragmented men and become the more fragmented as our students perceive our incompleteness.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: One of the faculty / members at the Institute for Open Education is a professor of religion; you saw him in a videotape asking questions about "accountability in education" though he has never had anything to do with education. But since he has come into the program of the Institute for Open Education, people are figuring out how they want to use him, what resources he has, and what they want to do with him. What is happening is we are finding tremendous resources in the group that we never knew existed. Somebody will raise their hand and say, "I want to learn about X", and another student will say, "I can teach you." Then there is a course set up. Then five or six people want to join that, and the course goes. And a student is teaching, really breaking down the whole division between teacher and learner, you see. The central problem of educational programs now is an access problem: "How do we get access to each other, access to the resources we need?" If one begins to look at the university that way, one breaks down departments, course structures, divisions between schools of education and departments of history.

WILLIAM HICKS: This September we are going to try differentiated staffing at the college level. We are going to team teach introductory courses. We are going to use large three-hour blocks of time, so that the team will have an opportunity to provide a wide range of experiences for our kids, take them out to the schools, to bring in people from liberal arts, bring in other resource people from the community, to work with these kids. We

feel that we will prepare better students; we see institutionalizing is what we have been doing in our Twelve Corps program. But all of this is going to take place within the framework of our present structure. I am hopeful that we can change the attitudes of the central administration of the university to enable us to move out and make some of the changes that we need to make in teacher education. If we do not, other agencies are going to come in and do the job for us, particularly Boards of Education and school systems. Our model will not be to change the structure (i.e. we don't plan to abolish the College of Education); we do plan to change the process while operating in the existing structure.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Teacher education has perhaps lagged behind some of the other fields within the university in a re-examination of the division or separation between liberal and professional or technical studies. An examination of the literature over the last six or eight years would suggest that some colleges of engineering, some colleges of medicine, have been much more disposed to question this separation and, in fact, would move professional studies to a much earlier point in the program in order to develop a more meaningful inter-relationship between the two. We are just beginning to look at that again in our field, and it is long overdue. At the same time it seems to me that commitments and desirable enthusiasms growing out of a vocational objective can motivate liberal studies. The humanizing elements that might come to professional education or pedagogical studies out of a closer relationship with the liberal studies are, to me, necessary.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: This raises a question that I have been thinking about for a long time. Part of it is expressed in various attempts we are making now to reorganize higher education. At our center [i.e. the Center for Inner City Studies, Chicago] students constantly confront us with a problem like, "Is this the correct average or correct procedure to use in this paper?" Our conception of our program is such that I am sort of in the theoretical, philosophical part--I talk about concepts. We have some other people who teach research courses. Now, I find myself sending my students to the so-called experts in research and quantitative methods of research. I say, "Why don't you check that out with Dr. Smith," but I have started asking myself, "Look, what are we training these people for, and what are we expecting these people to learn? Are we expecting these people, for example, to learn something that we don't know?" That is okay. But are we saying that they must know more than we know about certain things? In other words, I started asking myself,- "Isn't it rather foolish for me to tell a student that he has to make an A or B in quantitative research when I can't handle it? Isn't it rather foolish for me to expect a student to become an expert in literature when I am ignorant of the literature that I am asking him to become an expert in?" I am now in the process of questioning the whole concept of expertise: what is it? Can we all become competent in all of these areas? To suggest, for example, that a child has to learn mathematics from a mathematician when a teacher in social studies

cannot teach him math is to suggest that in a certain sense functional morons are teaching our children.

All of this causes me to wonder if the reasons for parents, let us say, not being the primary educators of children are still valid. I assume that at one time parents were thought to be bad teachers and, therefore, somebody else was to do it. They either didn't have the time or the knowledge or didn't have the "proper" character. Perhaps, instead of looking at parents as resource people for instructional purposes, we should look at parents as teachers and at what we now call teachers as resource people.

When we as professional people are fragmented people and are talking about building whole people, we are building alienation into the part of the process of education. Part of the process of education is alienation. Not only does the student become alienated from the parent because we teach him that his parents don't know anything because they aren't professionals but we also undermine our own positions, because we are fragmented men.

VITO PERRONE: But how do we bring people together into the kinds of relationships that cause them to be learners again? That is the kind of renewing institution that I think we need to create. I am just not sure that the institutions we have with in our universities right now cause that to happen very often.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: An attack should be made on intellectual arrogance. That is the first thing. We try to intimidate each other; but some of us are so poorly educated, I guess, that we don't get intimidated. I was once arguing with an artist. He came in and was going to tell me something about technique. I said, "You know, you ought to help our community people with some art." He said, "Well, now, of course, you understand this is not the same kind of art." We got into an argument about it. He finally told me he was the trained artist, and I wasn't. I said, "That may very well be, but I can take a brush and a bit of paint, and if I had some authority, I could say this is good art, and it would be that way." I think that is one thing we have to do--make an attack against this intellectual arrogance and smugness.

# Teacher Education:
# Repair, Reform, or Revolution?*

By
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"Education is beyond repair! What is needed is radical reform... Today, the alternative to reform is revolution."[1] Strong words, especially as they come not from some isolated critic outside of the educational establishment but from the report of a distinguished task force of educators commissioned by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Strong, perhaps, but straight to the point.

The experience of the past decade should make it clear to all that the demands upon America's schools have resulted in stresses requiring more than the occasional oiling of the squeaky wheel or the frustrated kick that constitutes the home repair technology familiar to most of us. Hopefully, these challenges can be met short of revolution, with its accompanying violent rejection of our system of education and the possible transfer of power to other agencies and personnel with little commitment to our democratic traditions.

What is true for American education in general is true in particular for teacher education. The quality and character of our elementary and secondary schools are dependent largely upon the quality and character of the teachers who staff them. The teachers, in turn, strongly reflect the strengths and shortcomings of the colleges that recruit them and provide initial preparation, the school systems that employ them and continue their training, and the professional organizations that supplement such formal training through a broad range of activities. If schools must change to meet the challenges of our times, the education of teachers must change as well. Recognition of the need for radical reform in both schools and teacher preparation need not diminish our regard for the splendid heritage of either. Instead, reforming our institutions to meet our nation's needs can be viewed as a reflection of the special genius claimed for a democratic society.

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[1] Teachers for the Real World. Washington, D. C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1969. p. 9.

* Educational Leadership, Vol. 27, Number 6, March 1970.

What are the weaknesses in the education of American teachers which demand basic reform or threaten revolution?

1. Inadequacies and irrelevance of much that presently constitutes the general studies or liberal education component. In terms of both content and process, general studies often fail to provide students with opportunities to experience what is involved in decision making and choice, the establishment of meaning, the use of evidence and logic, and collaboration toward proximate goals. Instead, they afford narrow, formalized introductions to a string of disconnected subjects superficially considered through emphasis upon nomenclature, classification systems, or the manipulation of paraphernalia. Separation of information and the problems and issues to which it applies unfortunately still characterizes segments of American higher education. This dichotomy represents a serious shortcoming in the education of any college student. For the prospective teacher it is of critical importance, for he will himself soon become an agent of general education in the elementary or secondary school and likely perpetuate the splintering of knowledge and the gap between ideas and action.

Reexamination of the traditional separation of liberal or general studies from professional studies is long overdue. The career concerns of students can motivate liberal studies and provide an avenue for understanding important concepts. And liberal education can invest professional studies with more personal and humane qualities.

2. The hostile academic atmosphere in which teacher education is conducted. Some colleges and universities have long been so hostile and grudging toward teacher education that many college students are negatively inclined toward their professional studies before even commencing them. Certain college professors feel no qualms about advising able students that they would be "wasting" their talents by going into preparation for elementary or secondary teaching. Although the financial survival of many small colleges is dependent upon their programs and enrollments in teacher education, budget allocations seldom reflect this, and priorities for staff and facilities point elsewhere.

Little wonder that James Stone describes teacher education as a "stepchild," unwanted by the colleges,[2] and Hobert Burns urges that we "... consider transferring much of the responsibility from colleges and universitites to the public schools" since "many colleges, perhaps even most, have not taken seriously the obligation to teacher education..."[3]

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[2]James C. Stone, Breakthrough in Teacher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 1968.

[3]Hobert Burns. "Teacher Education Programs--Their Structure and Flexibility." NDEA Special Bulletin, December 1967. In: Ibid., pp. 187-88.

3. Lack of Conceptual frameworks for teacher education. Without the identification of some unifying theories or conceptual frameworks for structuring teacher education, most of our efforts at improvement result in mere "tinkering." An appropriate balance must be struck between theory and practice. Adequate recognition must be given to the broad range of objectives in teacher preparation from fundamental beginning skills to a body of systematized knowledge that permits teachers to become analysts and diagnosticians of the teaching-learning process--to become teacher-scholars.

We have been prone too often to regard the almost infinite number of minor variations from program to program as positive evidence of institutional initiative and concern for individuality. Instead, such variations are more likely to represent evidence of grossly inadequate attention to basic priciples and of breakdowns in the communication process among professionals across institutional and sometimes even departmental boundary lines.

4. Simplistic views of teaching and teacher education. "Teachers should be taught as they are expected to teach." "What does it matter how much a person knows of a subject if he can't build an effective relationship with children?" The first oft-repeated viewpoint sounds appealing until one begins to reflect on the differences in experience level, motivation, capacity to handle abstractions, etc., between kindergartners and doctoral students. Few thoughtful persons would quarrel over the importance of reaching and relating to children. Need we choose, however, between that ability and such other important qualities as a broad concept of the world, ability to distinguish fact from opinion, or the capacity to pose open rather than closed structure questions which elicit higher order thinking among students? Teaching is a complex, demanding profession which is demeaned by those who would suggest that only affection for children or subject matter knowledge or specific teaching skills are sufficient. All these and more are necessary for the effective teacher.

Another evidence of a simplistic approach in teacher education is the almost childlike faith some have evinced in the efficacy of laboratory experiences. What ever the scope, quality, duration, and structure of such experiences, some persons have equated improved teacher education with more of these and less of whatever else was being done. But unplanned laboratory experiences can turn out to be little more than "rubbernecking" or wasteful repetition of a narrow band of teaching behavior and student response sandwiched between large slices of coming and going.

5. Inadequate interlacing of theoretical and practical study. Effective teachers interpret classroom events by means of theoretical knowledge but gain an appreciation of the significance of key concepts as they see them applied in school situations. It is essential, therefore, that teacher preparation programs give attention to each and to their appropriate integration.

Criticism continues that teacher education is too theoretical. Perhaps, to the contrary, it may not be sufficiently theoretical. Simply because

training programs fail to reflect reality adequately does not per se make them too theoretical. Rather they may only be out of touch with reality--an equally serious but very different problem. Much of what currently passes for theory is simply outdated specific knowledge--for which there should be little room in the teacher education curriculum.

Improved opportunities to see teaching ideas in action and thus better understand them is highly important. But there is no magic in field experience. It is not meaningful simply because it is "out there." Rather, it is meaningful as it is carefully planned, structured, interpreted, and linked with theoretical or foundational studies. Contact with reality without the perspective of theory fosters adjustment to what is rather than stimulating realization of what could be. Beginning teachers must be able to survive in the classroom as it is, but if education is to improve--a matter we judge to be imperative--they must also have the vision of its potentialities and the skills to alter its course.

The development of educational media makes possible a linking of theoretical knowledge with real situations which illustrate its use. As pointed out in Teachers for the Real World, teaching behavior"...cannot be studied in the classroom because behavior perishes as it happens and nothing is left to analyze except the memory or a check sheet."[4] Utilization of video and audio tapes of behavior can capture the reality of classroom and community and permit its analysis in a manner that will help teachers become skillful interpreters of teaching and learning.

6. Continued acceptance of the single model, omnicapable teacher. Nearly all teachers are still prepared to work as isolated adults with standard size groups of children. Instead, we should be preparing them to assume different roles as members of instructional teams. Such roles might include aides, assistants, interns, beginning teachers, ancillary specialist personnel, coordinating teachers, and more. While colleges producing professional teachers may not engage in training all such personnel, they should clearly participate in the design of appropriate instructional staffing patterns and ensure that the prepartion of those they do train provides for their effective integration in an instructional team.

7. Low selection and retention standards for teacher candidates. Operating in an economy of scarcity, teacher preparation programs frequently admitted, retained, and recommended for teaching licenses, persons woefully weak in handling ideas, oral and written communication, sensitivity to others, and management of their own personal lives. With many subject fields now producing more teachers than there are job openings, there is urgent need for the development of more effective means of predicting teaching success and of screening out those with a low probability of effective performance.

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[4] Teachers for the Real World, op. cit., p. 52.

8. Schedule rigidities and cumbersome procedures for curriculum change. Many opportunities for relating on-campus and field experiences are blocked because college scheduling practices cut days into fifty-minute fragments. Block scheduling of general education and professional sequences, provision for dividing academic terms into on-campus and field experience segments, utilization of intersession or between semester periods, and other alternatives must be explored. Sensible ideas cannot continue to be impeded because of mechanical rigidities.

The system of curriculum change in most colleges is extremely cumbersome, clearly one which was designed originally to "keep the lid on" and maintain tight controls over programs. With the rapidity of contemporary societal changes, however, it seems essential that curricular change be facilitated rather than retarded. College faculties seldom utilize the "broken front" approach to curriculum improvement which their curriculum specialists urge upon lower school faculties. To speed change and to facilitate experimentation rather than wholesale installation of programs, procedures must permit small groups of school system and college staff to design and implement promising programs with adequate provision for evaluation and for communication of experience.

9. Absence of student opportunities for exploration and inquiry. Most teacher educators talk about the need for teachers to be experimental and exploratory in their work. Training programs, however, are often narrowly prescriptive and didactic in form. If we take our own words seriously, we must develop beginning competence in some of the research and inquiry skills among undergraduates preparing to teach.

Prospective teachers must be placed in situations that will afford them opportunities to act like researchers. To those who fear this is beyond them, there is considerable evidence to suggest that we have long been expecting too little of our students and that these low expectations may have conditioned the performance levels of many.

10. Schizophrenic role expections for teacher education departments. Professors of pedagogy are frequently pressured by their university colleagues to accept a conventional academic view of their role, emphasizing basic scholarship while keeping school and community service commitments to a minimum. At the same time they are beleaguered by school systems wanting them to become involved more directly in the problems of inner city and suburbia, of gifted and disadvantaged, of individualization in a mass culture.

Mounting financial pressures on higher education and the growing problems of schools could bring about a redirection of teacher education that would probably take the form of school systems undertaking the professional training of teachers while the colleges would focus entirely upon academic studies. While doubtless appealing to some, such a development would destroy some of the advantages of the present plan. It would tend to base the preparation of new teachers on the patterns of the present-patterns which have already been shown to be seriously inadequate to the challenges of the times. It would lend support to the concept of teaching

as a modestly demanding craft learned relatively easily through an apprenticeship rather than a complex profession demanding high levels of analysis, diagnosis, and planning ability. Separation of knowledge from application and thinking from doing would seem to be a third serious limitation of such a division of labor.

Schools of education should represent a bridge between formal academic studies in the university and the application of this knowledge to school and community problems. While these schools often fail in this role, it would still seem wise to attempt their reform rather than precipitate their abandonment. Universities need to become more directly concerned with the problems of the community, and schools need teachers capable of interpreting experience within frameworks of theory and principle.

The plea for resisting the full scale transfer of teacher education to the schools does not deny the critical need for new and more effective cooperative arrangements between schools and colleges. As James Stone concluded in Breakthrough in Teacher Education,

> We are shadow-boxing with the real problem unless we are willing to develop new structures for bringing together the groups necessary for the education of our teachers--the schools, the colleges, and the communities in which schools are located. [5]

The challenge of American teacher education today is that of building into its structure the capacity for adaptability to the rapidly changing needs of our schools and communities. Rather than a monolithic resisting force irrelevant to current problems and ultimately a stimulus for irrational, violent change, teacher education must find ways of anticipating and facilitating orderly change for the years ahead. In reforming itself it can help to reform all of education.

[5] James Stone, op. cit., p. 190.

# THE NEW SCHOOL*

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North Dakota, a large state with a relatively small population, faces educational problems that are unique to its predominantly rural setting. Recognizing that comprehensive, long-range planning was necessary if educational improvement was to occur, the Legislative Research Committee of the North Dakota State Legislature recommended a comprehensive examination of the educational problems of North Dakota. The Statewide Study, begun in 1965, was undertaken as a co-operative effort of the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, the University of North Dakota, the Legislative Research Committee, the State Board of Higher Education, the United States Office of Education, and a number of local school districts (1). The study, which was completed in 1968, dealt with all phases of elementary and secondary education and with teacher education. Many recommendations were made to increase the effectiveness of the State's public school system.

Among the many recommendations in the Plan for Educational Development was a proposal to establish a new kind of preparation program for elementary-school teachers, prospective as well as experienced. In the spring of 1968 the State Board of Higher Education authorized the establishment of the New School of Behavioral Studies in Education as an experimental college component of the University of North Dakota. To help initiate this program, the University of North Dakota received financial assistance from the United States Office of Education. The New School continues to receive its major support from the Trainersof Teacher Trainers program (2) of the Education Professions Development Act and from local school districts.

## The Community and the University

A major reason for establishing the New School was to initiate

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*Reprinted by permission from The Elementary School Journal, Vol. 71, Number 8 (May, 1971).

constructive change in the schools of North Dakota. Teacher education programs, even those considered most innovative, seldom have significant impact on public education in the regions they serve. That portion of a university committed to the preparation of teachers is often removed from the societal forces that effect change in the public schools. At the same time local school districts and the communities they represent do not make any meaningful contribution to the preparation of teachers. Often the contacts between the two agencies are peripheral and limited to placing student teachers, consulting, and conducting in-service workshops.

The university and the local school districts have more to offer each other. Each is faced by the challenge of establishing new kinds of relationships so that each might intervene more productively in the sphere of the other.

The isolation that has traditionally existed between the university and the local communities is being bridged in North Dakota by the establishment of co-operative working relationships between the New School and participating school districts. A major reason for establishing closer ties between the two has been the desire to upgrade the preparation of less-than-degree elementary-school teachers now teaching in North Dakota (3). To achieve the objective of placing a qualified teacher in every elementary-school classroom in the state, a teacher exchange program was developed in cooperation with local school districts and the State Department of Public Instruction. Under this exchange program, a school district that formally agrees to participate with the New School temporarily releases a portion of its less-than-degree teachers so they may complete their college education. Each of these teachers is replaced by a fully qualified and certified teacher who is enrolled in a master's level internship program in the New School. The less-than-degree teacher is enrolled at an appropriate academic level in the Undergraduate Program and continues until his course of study has been completed. These co-operative arrangements are entered into at the initiative of local communities. The final decision is made solely by community representatives. These experienced less-than-degree teachers are selected jointly by the local school district and the New School; their participation is strictly voluntary. As part of the co-operative agreement, the local school district contributes financially to the New School program. These contributions represent a major source of the New School funding.

One result of the co-operative agreements is a close working relationship between the New School and individual school districts. The New School assumes increased responsibility for the quality of instruction in classrooms staffed by New School resident interns. The co-operating school districts in turn become more active participants in teacher preparation. Each organization shares more in the responsibilities that have traditionally belonged to the other. By accepting New School master's level interns into its schools, the local community is expressing its

willingness to allow alternative patterns of thought and action to be brought into juxtaposition with its more established ways. Thus the local community gains greater insight into what it is doing. By entering into a co-operative agreement, the local school district agrees to assist the New School interns in creating more individualized and personalized modes of instruction in its classrooms. In return, the New School pledges its institutional resources in support of the intern's efforts in the classroom.

An Alternative Learning Environment for the Elementary Classroom

There would be limited value in an alternative teacher preparation program and different university-community relationships if they did not lead to significant changes in teachers' practices. The program has to increase understanding of the processes of learning and their implications for teaching.

It is becoming increasingly evident that children's learning is enhanced if it is centered on a child's own experiences, needs, and interests, and if children participate in the direction of their own learning activities. Most North Dakota schools, indeed most schools throughout the country, do not function on the basis of that understanding. According to a report on a study of the schools of Toronto:

> At the present time, in most schools many rigidly controlled stipulations must be accepted by everyone who enters their portals. Basically, the school's learning experiences are imposed, involuntary and structured. The pupil becomes a captive audience from the day of entry. His hours are regulated; his movements in the building and within the classroom are controlled; his right to speak out freely is curtailed. He is subject to countless restrictions about the days to attend, hours to fill, when to talk, where to sit, length of teaching periods, and countless other rules (4).

School is not always related to the experiences the child has outside school. Seldom does school capitalize on the child's intrinsic interest in learning. Neither does school fully nurture the inquiring, imaginative spirit typically found in children.

The New School supports the belief that each child's educational needs be considered as paramount and that flexibility so permeate the schools that the interests, abilities, and needs of each child be taken into account. The program of the New School aims at fostering this spirit of individualization and personalization among the teachers it prepares, experienced as well as prospective.

Central to the creation of a more individualized and personalized instructional mode in the elementary-school classroom is the provision for a variety of learning environments. Children in classrooms directed by New School resident interns can develop their skills, understandings, and appreciations in a number of interest or learning centers appropriate to

the age of the children involved. Many varied tools and other stimuli that children themselves can produce and manipulate are provided in those centers. Children engage in a variety of activities, working both individually and in small groups. Each pupil progresses at a rate appropriate to his capacities, interests, and stage of development rather than at a rate prescribed by teacher, curriculum, or graded groupings. In this type of setting direct teaching is limited. The teacher's primary role is one of observing, stimulating, and assisting children in their learning. In this setting, teachers must be prepared to diagnose the most common learning problems that children have and to work with individual children on those problems.

Structural Organization

Teaching can be a liberalizing force in one's life, kindling it with a vitality and a sense of purpose. If we are to build into the professional life of teaching an opportunity to be creative, a sense of commitment, and an unwillingness to accept things as they are, then we are going to have to recast teacher preparation. In the process, liberal education will take on a more liberalizing quality. We might do as Paul Nash suggests:

> Rather than follow the traditional pattern, which often consists of tacking "liberal arts" courses upon professional courses in the hope that some alchemy within the individual will transform the ingredients into a liberating education, we should experiment with the use of the individual's professional interest as a focus from which he can move out in a liberating exploration of its wider human implications (5).

The education that prepares a person for such a liberalizing occupation as teaching ought to express within itself a sense of unity. The life of teaching cannot be compartmentalized and neither should the education that prepares a person for that life. While the established structure of liberal and professional education may reflect the realities of our present situation, that structure does not reflect the possibilites of an educational setting that makes preparation for a future occupation an integral part of a person's total life-meaning.

Almost every teacher preparation program even programs that most actively engage in change, operates within curriculum and administrative structures that separate the liberal arts from professional education. As a result, liberal arts and professional education are almost universally identified as the two major components of every teacher education program. It is within this established framework that the unique character and the function of most programs develop and within which change is instituted.

The New School was created, in part, to test the validity of an alternative to the long standing separation. The New School, from its inception in 1968, has operated as one structural unit. It has drawn together faculty members with diverse academic and professional backgrounds in the humanities, the social sciences, mathematics, the natural sciences, and

education. All faculty members share equally in the shaping of the academic program. Because of this unique structural organization, the New School is able to offer its participants all components of a teacher preparation program without the liabilities of traditional academic and professional distinctions.

The structural organization of the New School makes it difficult for faculty and students to fall back on the traditional dichotomy between liberal and professional education. The new structure gives promise of much closer co-ordination and interrelationship among the various elements of the program. The structure also provides a setting where faculty members, administrators, and students are forced to break away from the familiar standard categories. Because there are fewer familiar contexts, the problems, and at times the confusion, often appear to be greater. However, where participants are willing to open themselves to an "intersection" of their own points of reference with those of others, there are opportunities for more creative beginnings in teacher preparation.

Teaching-Learning Relationship

The New School is especially concerned about the quality of the relationships between faculty and students in the design and the operation of the educational program. Clearly, our task has been to place the student at the center of the learning experience and to work for a shift of emphasis from teaching to learning. If we are going to encourage future elementary-school teachers to foster independence in learning on the part of their pupils, then as college students the teachers should have ample opportunities to experience the same independence. Because we want our teachers to be self-starters, to be persons who take major responsibility for planning and initiating learning, we are encouraging them to take more initiative for their own learning.

Many recent efforts at building teacher preparation models have focused on the identification of behavioral objectives for prospective teachers and on the application of systems analysis. The emphasis on outcomes, on teacher and pupil behavior, and on the overt operational procedures by which a specific behavior can be elicited is encouraging. These models reinforce the notion that the ultimate test of a teacher preparation program is the behavior that teachers and pupils exhibit in the elementary-school classroom. One problem with this approach to teacher preparation is that is assumes that the complex act of teaching can be broken down into simple , more easily identifiable, skills and techniques that can be identified by experts for all students. Further, this approach to teacher preparation assumes that the conditions under which these skills and techniques are realized can be readily specified by these same experts. In contrast to more traditional programs, this model provides students with a much more individually tailored program. Programs of this type are usually individualized with respect to point of entry, pacing, and sequencing. Still, the

student remains passive. He does not direct his own learning. He plays little or no role in specifying the pupil outcomes desired, the conditions under which these outcomes can be realized, the competencies teachers need to provide the conditions necessary for learning, and the conditions under which the teacher competencies he has identified are realizable. The role of the faculty member toward the student remains essentially unchanged. The faculty member determines what is to be learned and how that learning is to be acquired.

If we are to restructure relationships between faculty and students within this newer model, we will have to give more attention to potential student input. For example, there may be different ways for a student to demonstrate a given competency. As long as we cannot specify with any degree of confidence the exact conditions that give rise to specific pupil behaviors, prospective teachers ought to be actively engaged in identifying conditions that work best for them. The student ought to have an opportunity to personalize his own abilities as they relate to his own unique style of teaching and to the instructional objectives that he has had a part in formulating.

The New School is co-operating with local school districts throughout North Dakota to introduce more individualized and personalized modes of instruction into elementary schools. To be effective in contributing to a change in elementary-school instruction, the New School believes its college program must become a model of the kind of environment it promotes in elementary schools. Operating on the assumption that teachers teach essentially as they have been taught, faculty members are continually looking for ways to personalize and individualize the college-level program. Students are continually encouraged to assume greater independence and initiative for their own learning. Success at this task, however, does not come easily. Many students prefer a more traditional setting where the requirements for learning are prescribed by the faculty. It is particularly tempting for faculty to restrain themselves from prescribing what they feel is necessary for the preparation of each student. The unitary structure of the New School is quite helpful in coping with these problems. Faculty members bring a variety of perspectives as to what is valuable and thus create an environment where the thinking of students becomes vital. During the short time the New School has been in existence, we have learned that to get students to participate in decisions on their own learning the academic program must have openness built into it. We want our teachers to be able to infuse a spirit of inquiry and to develop a capacity for discovery among elementary-school children. To accomplish this purpose, we feel it essential that these qualities be nurtured in the college academic program --even to the point of giving students the opportunity to formulate and operate on their own beliefs about what is essential for teaching. A faculty must be willing to approach students in a more flexible manner. Instructional objectives cannot be so firmly set that the student contributes little or nothing to his conception of a good teacher or to the determination of

the tasks to be undertaken in preparation for that role.

Academic Program

The total New School effort--including undergraduate, master's, and doctoral levels--has two basic, but interrelated types of programs. One is concerned with the education of teachers and the other is concerned with the education of teacher educators. The undergraduate program--which begins in the Junior, or third,undergraduate year--is a preparation and retraining program for prospective and experienced elementary-school teachers. Upon successful completion of the undergraduate phase of the program, these students receive a baccalaureate degree and full teacher certification. Many of the graduating Seniors, along with other baccalaureate degree teachers from co-operating districts, proceed to the master's level program which has as its core a year-long resident internship in one of the co-operating school districts. The master's degree program serves in a dual capacity--to prepare master teachers and to prepare teachers of teachers. In some school districts, the New School master's level teachers are beginning to serve as teachers of other prospective and practicing elementary-school teachers by the example they set in their own classrooms and through their co-operative teaching effort with other prospective and practicing teachers.

The doctoral program is designed to prepare individuals who have academic and professional background in elementary education for positions in the state colleges and in local school districts as teachers of teachers. Some doctoral students are returning to their former colleges to become teachers of teachers and in some cases to assume positions of leadership in that role. Others are going to local educational agencies where they are able to work directly with practicing teachers in improving the quality of instruction in the elementary schools of that district. The maximum number of participants for these three phases is two hundred undergraduate, one hundred master's, and fifteen doctoral students.

During the two-year period that the New School has been in operation, the undergraduate program has undergone several changes. The faculty and the student body have had the opportunity to experiment with many alternative patterns of instruction. Some definite directions in program have emerged. One significant gain made during previous semesters has been the establishment of functional advisor-advisee relationships. There is a consensus among the faculty that this basic tie between students and faculty should be retained, strengthened, and broadened. To strengthen and broaden this relationship, the student and his advisor have been given the responsibility for planning and evaluating the student's entire academic program. Under this arrangement, several possibilities have opened up to students. Faculty members design activities that they feel will contribute most to the total preparation of teachers. Some activities are organized jointly with other faculty. Students, planning with their

advisor, can choose to become involved in a number of the faculty-organized options. Or the students can choose to initiate activities that are conducted independently of the more formally organized activities. These independent studies are undertaken with the advisor or in association with some faculty member in whose area of specialty the student wishes to study. Again, the determination of what a student is involved in and the way in which he is involved has become the decision of the faculty advisor and the student. It is through this unorthodox advisor-advisee relationship that the faculty of the New School is trying to facilitate greater involvement of the student in defining and evaluating his own learning. As this relationship is developing, both advisor and advisee are struggling in an authentic way with the question of what the student should do to prepare himself for teaching. The faculty member and the advisee must work together to increase their abilities to intelligently define educational goals and evaluate student progress. They must give thoughtful consideration to the student'sinterests and previous academic and professional background.

It is difficult to define with any specificity the content and the organization of the undergraduate program. Students come with diverse background; some are experienced teachers with many years of experience but with no baccalaureate degree, while others are prospective teachers with little understanding of the complex process of teaching. Academic backgrounds also vary widely. Even within a single group, student activities will notbe uniform, simply because student needs differ. What is sought from any group structure is a higher degree of interaction among a diverse faculty as members interact with students. Also sought from any group structure is closer personal contact between students and faculty to create an academic program that is more responsive to the needs of individual students as they prepare for teaching.

The undergraduate program is interwoven with clinical experiences involving elementary-school children. Every attempt is made to tie what is learned in the college classroom with the practical experience gained in working directly with children. Juniors and Seniors gain their clinical experience in classrooms of fifth-year interns where they are involved almost immediately with children. We stress that the relationship between the undergraduate and the resident intern be one of colleagueship and not the mere traditional supervior-student teacher relationship. Undergraduates are urged to do joint planning and co-operative teaching with the intern. Although the intern teacher is ultimately responsible for the classroom, both he and the undergraduate are students, and as students each must be willing to open himself to the ideas of the other. In this way, each can contribute to the education of the other. Any supervision that is necessary in this situation is given by the clinical professor, advisors, and the co-operating principal.

In the fifth college year, the master's degree student participates in a year-long resident internship. As a full-fledged member of an institutional staff each intern undertakes full responsibility for teaching in a

co-operating elementary school. This internship is designed to investigate the general hypotheses that have grown out of his study, observations, and earlier involvement with children. The internship affords the student the opportunity to refine his skills and practical insights into the nature of learning and to reinforce his commitment to the individualization and the personalization of learning through his own teaching.

Besides serving a resident internship, each master's degree candidate spends two consecutive summers in academic study. The summer session immediately prior to the internship is spent preparing for that experience. Upon completion of the internship the student returns to campus to study in areas where the need is greatest. In addition, all master's level students engage in an individual research activity that culminates in an independent reasearch project. During the internship period the students participate in a continuing seminar on educational problems unique to their own elementary-school classroom.

The success of the total New School program depends, in large measure, on the ability of the master's level interns to introduce new modes of instruction in co-operating school districts. For our program to have any lasting impact, our interns must relate differently to children and this change in relationship must be productive of the educational objectives identified earlier.

In the doctoral program, each student's schedule of activities is planned around his academic and professional background and his future plans as an educator of teachers. The student works with graduate faculty advisors to plan an individual program of study tailored to his needs, strengths, and previous education. The individual programs that are developed tend to reflect the interdisciplinary quality of elementary education and the contribution of many areas of knowledge and understanding to teaching in the elementary school. All activities are conducted in close relationship with what is occurring in elementary-school classrooms. This linkage between college study and elementary schools pervades all phases of the program, including course study, research, clinical experience. A related prerequisite of every doctoral student's program of study is internal consistency or unity among the major elements mentioned here.

All three parts of the New School program--undergraduate, master's, and doctoral--are interrelated, each contributing to the strength of the other. Most doctoral students, for example, gain their clinical experience by working in the undergraduate program and by joining the master's interns in the field to work directly with children. The research carried on by the doctoral students is closely tied to activities of these other two groups of students. In turn, the undergraduates and the master's level students draw on the doctoral candidates as resource persons. The master's level students contribute to the undergraduate program by opening their classrooms for undergraduate field experiences. Similarly, the undergraduates, by actively participating in intern classrooms, contribute to the intern's efforts to change the nature of elementary-school instruction.

As a consequence of these interrelationships, each level of the program makes a significant contribution to the education of teachers and to the education of teacher educators.

Faculty members not only work with undergraduate and graduate students in activities involving their own academic strengths but also join students in the field experience. Contact with children in an elementary-school setting has helped many faculty members, especially those with liberal arts backgrounds, gain a better perspective of their own contributions as well as those of the students.

After two years, faculty and students are still struggling to increase opportunities for interrelations among the different areas of learning, to establish closer ties among diverse faculty, to encourage more substantial contacts among students and faculty, to aid in devising a more effective means of linking academic studies with practical experience gained in working directly with children, and to increase opportunities for individualizing and personalizing the instructional program. Some faculty and students have encountered difficulties and frustrations in operating under this new structure. Yet for most the new structure has opened up new possibilities and broadened individual horizons. Many faculty are exploring more integrated and/or interdisciplinary approaches to learning. Some are also trying to model in their own classes the positive values inherent in the self-contained elementary-school classroom. Faculty members, for example, often join with students in the pursuit of learning in areas beyond their own specialties. In this kind of situation students must be willing to capitalize on the faculty member's efforts to move beyond his own specialty. And students have to be willing to share more of their own learning with their fellow students.

In addition to the programs mentioned here, the New School (in joint sponsorship with Couture School District, located on the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation) has developed a program that gives Indian men and women increased opportunity to become fully certified teachers. The program provides an opportunity for mature Indian men and women who are employed as teacher aides in Indian communities to pursue a college education and teacher certification, maintain family commitments and community ties on the reservation, and have a significant involvement with children in an elementary-school setting. Because of their work as teacher aides, many Indian men and women have an interest in teaching but have had limited opportunities to pursue careers as teachers. Many of them are heads of households, and their work as aides is the family livelihood. Moreover, because of family commitments and community ties, they are unable to leave the reservation for any lengthy period. We do not feel that these factors should be a barrier to pursuit of a college level program of study.

Participants are enrolled for twelve semester hours for each semester. During the 1970 summer session, participants were enrolled for eight hours. Summer sessions are held at each reservation.

The academic program includes four separate three-week periods of intensive academic study on the University campus during the academic year, as well as continued academic study in the participants' home community under the guidance of New School faculty. During the time the participants are working as teacher aides in their home community faculty meet with them each week for one-half day.

The link established between the academic program and the clinical experiences has been very productive. The clinical experience is an attractive vehicle for giving relevancy to what is learned. The experience is looked on not as "outside" employment necessary only for the finanacial support of the student, but as an integral part of the total academic program. In allowing the participants to continue to function as teacher aides, the program makes it possible for them to relate much of their own learning to their work with children. The teacher aides are more likely to grasp the knowledge, understanding, skills, and appreciations gained in mathematics, science, sociology, history, reading, psychology, and other subjects when the program offers opportunity to use them. The participants working as teacher aides, are able to draw frequently on their newly acquired perspectives in their contacts with children. There are times when college courses generate the need for testing ideas in an elementary-school setting. At these times classroom contact proves especially useful. Throughout the total academic program, an effort has been made to begin where the participants are in their own preparation rather than to proceed from some preconceived point. We believe that any deficiencies that exist can be overcome by having the participants meet all the essential criteria for the baccalaureate degree and certification by the end of the Senior year.

Beginning in the 1970-71 school year there were more than sixty participants from four North Dakota Indian reservation communities. It was not difficult to recruit participants. The many teacher-aide programs growing out of Titles I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Office of Economic Opportunity created a reservoir of Indian men and women who have had experience in classrooms. Our initial experience proved that these men and women are capable and qualified. They have a genuine interest in working with children, and, because of that interest, are anxious to pursue a career in teaching. All they need is a setting that takes into account their unique circumstances.

Because the majority of applicants are somewhat removed in time from their high-school experience, minimum attention has been given to high-school academic records. The only formal academic requirement set by the University is that the participants have a high-school diploma or its equivalent. (The University has agreed to waive all other established requirements for admission.) The most important factor in the selection of participants has been their genuine interest in working with children and their strong desire to become certified teachers. We feel that these non-intellective factors are the best predictors available for this group of Indian men and women.

A fundamental objective of this program is to increase the number of Indian teachers teaching Indian children. There clearly is a need to support and assist Indian communities in their efforts to assume greater responsibility for the direction of their own affairs. A vital element is education. More of the Indian community must become involved in the education of their children. With more Indian men and women serving as teachers there will be greater opportunities for parental and community involvement.

If Indians are to be successful in their quest for self-determination, there will have to be less dependency on white teachers, many of whom bring a value orientation that is non-supportive of the Indian children with whom they work. There are indications that Indian teachers, when appropriately prepared, are in a more favorable position to relate to Indian children. Indian teachers will certainly have more immediate and more intimate insights into the cultural factors that enhance or inhibit the learning of Indian children. Indian teachers offer an identification that white teachers can hardly duplicate. In addition, Indian teachers offer models for success, providing encouragement to large numbers of Indian children who drop out of school.

Evaluation

The New School has created an instructional program that will make a significant difference for the experienced teachers as well as the prospective teachers who proceed through it. The evaluation focuses on the impact of the New School teacher preparation program on prospective teachers as well as experienced teachers, and on the quality of instructional programs in elementary-school classrooms conducted by New School teacher interns and others who have completed the New School program. These two foci are interrelated, with the evaluation of teacher preparation contributing a major share to the measure of the quality of instruction in the classroom.

The basic thrust of the New School program is to prepare teachers--experienced and prospective--who are better equipped, both in psychological disposition and in academic preparation, to individualize and personalize the instructional programs in their classrooms. The anticipated outcome is teachers who can create classrooms that are more conducive to the affective and cognitive growth of children. Specifically, it is anticipated that the classroom environment created by interns and graduates of the New School will improve the quality of interpersonal relationships among students and between students and teachers. It is further anticipated that the levels of critical thinking and creative expression will rise. In measuring the effectiveness of the preparation program, the classrooms of teachers participating in the master's level internship program will be examined. The behavior of children and teachers will become a critical measure of the effectiveness of the preparation program. To identify the observable activities of teachers and pupils that are the core of the teaching-

learning process, and to identify the context within which these activities occur, the New School will use an instrument especially designed to yield a record of experiences of individual children in the school setting. These observational data along with other relevant information on intellective and psychosocial characteristics of pupils will help determine whether the context or setting in which teachers' and pupils' behaviors occur is different in New School classrooms as compared with more traditional classrooms. Included for study in the evaluation are level of pupil participation with adults, adult identification, peer interaction, content and structure of interaction, level of activity and involvement, instructional content and materials.

Notes

1. The published materials of the Statewide Study of Education are reproduced in six volumes, as a Plan for Educational Development for North Dakota, 1967-1975. Copies of these documents are available through the Office of the State Superientendent of Public Instruction, State Capitol, Bismarck, North Dakota.

2. Trainers of Teacher Trainers (TTT) is made possible by the Education Professions Development Act. TTT sponsors experimental programs over the broad continuum of teacher education and the education of children, especially from low-income families. They encourage local projects to involve all major participants--the schools, the communities that support them, and the colleges and universities--in planning, implementing, and evaluating teacher training programs. One major focus of the program is to identify leadership personnel among college faculty, school administrators, and community leaders. Another major focus is to gain a total university commitment to and involvement in the preparation of teachers.

3. In 1966 nearly 2,500, or 59 per cent, of the State's elementary-school teachers lacked a four-year college education. They were all certified for teaching. Most less-than-degree teachers are employed by small school districts. However, up to 20 per cent of the teachers in the State's largest districts still did not have a baccalaureate degree at that time.

4. Living and Learning, 1968, p. 54. Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Toronto, Ontario Department of Education, Canada.

5. Paul Nash. Authority and Freedom in Education, p. 41. New York, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.

# Program for Early Clinical Training of Prospective Teachers

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Introduction:

This paper is a working draft. It indicates some objectives and some programatic suggestions for early clinical training of prospective teachers. This draft does not suggest a sequence of courses nor does it prioritise objectives. Each teacher education program and each school system will order objectives and experiences in a different way according to the perspective of the staff and the needs of the students. In designing a program for teacher education an institution might generate a specific plan by reflecting the needs of the students and the orientation of the staff against the objectives and program proposed herein.

Section I outlines four categories of objectives. They are:

A. Sense of Self.
B. Empathetic Approach to Students.
C. Skill in Teaching-Learning Strategies.
D. Awareness of the School as a Sub-System in Itself and in Relation to the Society.

Section II suggests the types of experiences which might achieve the objectives presented in Section I. There are undoubtedly other experiences and questions to be offered.

The sequence of experiences will be determined by each program. No experience in the program stands alone; each is interrelated with the others. A flow chart which is included at the end of Section II suggest one interrelation among experiences. With the chart the order is determined by the questions that grow out of a particular experience. A program may want to use the flow chart as a way of determining its sequence.

I. Objectives of a Clinical Program

A. Sense of Self

1. Enable the student teacher to become aware of the emotional needs he brings to the classroom;
2. Enable the student teacher to become aware of his feelings about being in the role of teacher;
3. Give the student teacher an opportunity to explore his own strengths and weaknesses in the teaching-learning situation;
4. Give the student teacher the opportunity to define his own style in the classroom;

5. Enable the student teacher to become aware of the values he brings to the classroom;
6. Enable the student teacher to become aware of the political perspective he brings to the classroom;
7. Enable the student teacher to develop a conscious philosophy of education;
8. Enable the student teacher to develop methods for processing the data he receives from his experiences in ways which will make the data most useful to him;
9. Enable the student teacher to develop skills of critical thinking, i.e., ability to ask useful questions, ability to handle conflicting data, ability to employ a disciplined method of inquiry.

B. Empathetic Approach to Students
1. Enable student teachers to develop an awareness of the emotional needs of their students;
2. Give student teachers an awareness of the impact of family experiences on the behavior of the child in school;
3. Enable the student teachers to develop an awareness of the intellectual abilities and potentials of their students;
4. Enable student teachers to become aware of the differing reactions each of their students have to them;
5. Give student teachers an opportunity to explore the reactions which are triggered in themselves when they relate to various students;
6. Enable student teachers to develop awareness of the differing needs of their students and an ability to choose the needs to which they will respond.

C. Skill in Teaching-Learning Strategies
1. Allow the student teacher to evaluate a variety of strategies for teaching and learning;
2. Enable the student teacher to identify his own objectives for the teaching-learning situation and develop strategies which best meet those objectives;
3. Enable the student teacher to choose strategies for teaching and learning which are most useful to their students and comfortable for themselves;
4. Give the student teacher an awareness of the curricular resources available both within the school and within the larger community;
5. Give the student teacher experience in developing curricular resources not available from other sources;
6. Give the student teacher the ability to evaluate the various resources available to him in light of his students' needs, his own objectives, and the internal integrity of the resource;
7. Enable the student teacher to become comfortable with the

daily school routines which surround the teaching-learning situation.

D. Awareness of the School as a Sub-System in Itself and in Relation to the Society
   1. Give the student teacher an understanding of the political and social systems within the school;
   2. Enable the student teacher to develop skills to function effectively in relation to his own objectives within the political and social structure of the school;
   3. Enable the student teacher to see the school within the socio-economic context to the community;
   4. Enable the student teacher to see the school within the political context of the community;
   5. Give the student teacher an awareness of the school as a transmitter of the dominant value of the society;
   6. Enable the student teacher to perceive the societal expectations for his role as a transmitter of the dominant value of the society;
   7. Give the student teacher the opportunity to explore his position with regard to the values and politics of the community.

II. Program
   A. Sense of Self
      1. On-site analysis of videotapes of student teacher classroom work:
         a. In seminar group with other student teachers;
         b. With College Supervisor and Cooperation Teacher;
         c. Alone:
            1) How does student teacher feel about own behavior?
            2) What emotional needs of student teacher are being met by his behavior?
            3) What are the strengths and weaknesses of the behavior?
            4) What values and political orientation is being expressed by the student teacher's behavior?
      2. On-site seminar explaining the sense of identity student teachers learned from experience in their own familes:
         a. With other student teachers only;
         b. With cooperating teachers;
         c. With parents of students in school:
            1) How has the student teacher been programmed with expectations and values by his family experience?
            2) How much of the choice of the student teacher's role as teacher has been in response to his own needs and how much has been in response to his family's expectations?

3) What choices can the student teacher make in relation to his adult self which will make him a more self-satisfied, effective person?
4) What are the risks for the student teacher in relation to his family if he makes new choices for his self image?

3. An empirical research project related to a school issue:
   a. A group project;
   b. An independent project:
      1) The student teacher identifies a problem he wants to research;
      2) The student teacher develops a plan of inquiry;
      3) The student teacher carries out his research;
      4) The student teacher develops a method of presenting his results.
4. A series of interviews on the Philosophy of Education:
   a. Interviews of school personnel, parents, children on their goals for education;
   b. The student teachers present their philosophies of education to each other in forms which will allow for feedback and clarification
5. An on-site storage system of initial student teacher expectations and clarifications of expectations through time:
   a. Video- and/or audiotaped group explorations of expectations at the beginning of new experiences;
   b. Written individual accounts of expectations at beginning of new experiences:
      1) Storage and analysis over time of expectations;
      2) Why these initial expectations?
      3) What experiences in the school changed the initial expectations?
      4) What expectations were valid?
      5) How did the student teacher deal with the violation of expectations?
6. On-going and regular evaluation of clinical experience:
   a. With cooperating teachers and/or college supervisor;
   b. With other student teachers only;
   c. By student teacher alone:
      1) What experiences are most useful to the student teacher?
      2) What learnings do various experiences encourage?
      3) How useful is the student teacher's performance to the school personnel?
      4) What aspects of the student teacher's experience should be continued/repeated/terminated?

B. Empathetic Approach to Students:
   1. Case studies of several students with focus on family life:
      a. With team of student teachers;
      b. Alone in consultation with college supervisor and cooperating teacher:
         1) Through home visits and parent conferences determine parental expectations for child;
         2) Through observation of child in school determine emotional needs child brings to classroom situation;
         3) What kind of family involvement in school would be most supportive and productive for the child?
         4) What elements of the child's experience reminds me of my own?
   2. Observation of several students within school setting:
      a. With team of student teachers;
      b. Alone in consultation with college supervisor and cooperating teacher
         1) How does behavior of single child change in different classrooms/in different school situations?
         2) How do you account for different or same behavior in different situations?
         3) How do different children react to the same situation --how do we develop a useful observation schedule?
         4) How do you account for different children reacting differently or the same to the same situation?
         5) What element of the child's experience reminds me of my own?
   3. Observation of several students within peer group setting:
      a. With team of student teachers;
      b. Alone in consultation with college supervisor and cooperating teacher:
         1) How does behavior of single child change from school setting to non-school peer group?
         2) How can you account for changed or similar behavior in school and non-school setting?
         3) What are the difficulties in getting information about non-school peer group behavior?
         4) How do different students react to same non-school peer group situation?
         5) What element of the child's experience reminds me of my own?
   4. Observation of children's encounters with other societal institutions:
      a. Visits, clinical assignments and case studies with team of student teachers;
      b. Alone in consultation with college supervisor and cooperating teacher:

1) How are student's needs met by juvenile court, children's hospital, drug abuse programs, child guidance clinics, vocational counselling programs, Neighborhood Youth Corps, etc. ?
2) What is the most useful method for exploring these services--one-time visits, interviews with staff, interviews with clients, internships through time?

5. Video tapes of student teacher's work with students in classroom.
   a. Analysis with other student teachers;
   b. Analysis alone and in consultation with cooperating teacher and college supervisor:
      1) What is the most comfortable style of behavior for the student teacher in relating to students?
      2) What students make the student teacher feel most comfortable? Why?
      3) What types of student behavior makes the student teacher feel most uncomfortable, most comfortable? Why?
      4) What emotional needs does the student feel should be expressed in the classroom? Why?

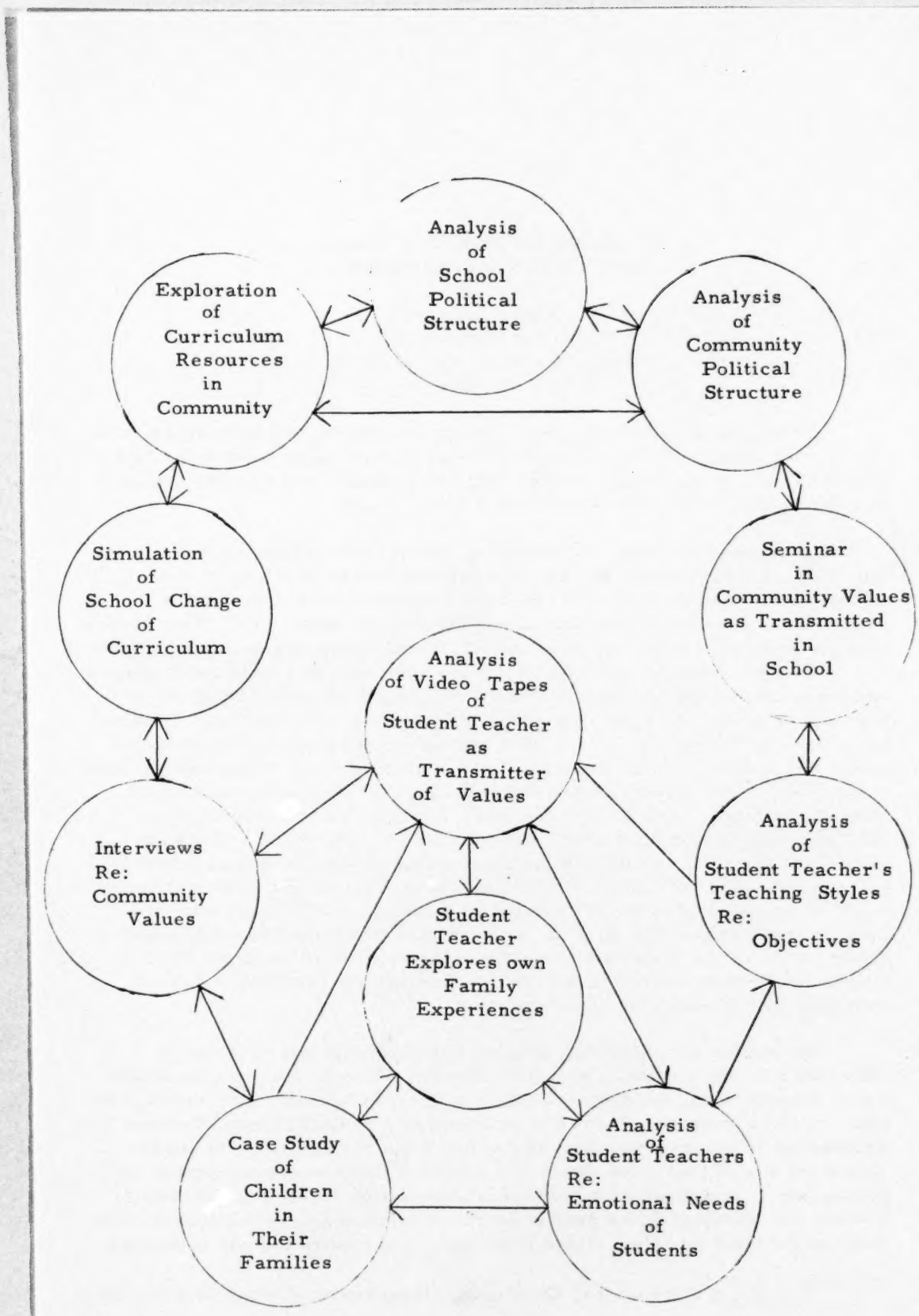
C. Skill in Teaching-Learning Strategies:
   1. Observation of teaching styles:
      a. With a team of student teachers;
      b. With college supervisor and cooperating teacher:
         1) What are useful questions to ask when observing other student teachers and other teachers?
         2) How does the student teacher process the observations he makes in a way which is useful to his concerns?
         3) What observed styles are most appealing to the student teacher? What ones least appeal to the student teacher? Why?
         4) How can the student teacher characterize the styles he sees?
   2. Analysis of teaching styles of others to make connection between behavior and objectives:
      a. With team of student teachers;
      b. With college supervisor and cooperating teacher:
         1) Can the student teacher predict the objective of the observed teacher?
         2) What questions can the student teacher ask to learn the objectives of the observed teacher?
         3) How successful was the observed teacher in translating his objective into observable behavior?

3. Analysis of own teaching style:
   a. With video tape of self, analysis alone and in groups;
   b. With feedback from others--college supervisor, cooperating teacher and other student teachers:
      1) What are objectives of student teacher?
      2) How successful is student teacher in translating objectives into behavior?
      3) What are the problems for the student teacher in realizing his objectives?
      4) How does the student teacher characterize his style? What are the discrepancies? How does the student teacher account for the discrepancies?
4. Catalogue and evaluation of Curricular Resources available to student teacher:
   a. With group of student teachers;
   b. With college supervisor and cooperating teacher and special resource personnel:
      1) What is the widest range of resources the student teacher can bring to bear in the teaching-learning situation?
      2) What are useful criteria for evaluating various resources?
      3) What sorts of judgments can be made about various resources?
5. Creation of curricular resources not available from other sources:
   a. With group of student teacher;
   b. With college supervisor and cooperating teacher and special resource personnel:
      1) What resources are not available to the student teacher which are necessary or desirable?
      2) How can the student teacher develop these resources?
      3) How can the student teacher manipulate the school's curricular limits and definitions to work in desired resources?
6. Experience with the daily routine of school life:
   a. Within a classroom;
   b. Within the school as a whole:
      1) What areas of the daily school routine give the student teacher the most difficulty?
      2) What strategies can the student teacher develop for functioning in the daily classroom duties, lunchroom duties, the recess duties, etc.;
      3) Why do certain regular duties give the student teacher difficulty or satisfaction?

D. Awareness of the School as a Sub-System in Itself and in Relation to the Society:
   1. Chart the informal power groups and hierarchy within the school:
      a. Through interviews with school personnel;
      b. Through comparing perceptions with other student teachers:
         1) What are the political groups within the school? What are their areas of power?
         2) What is the formal as compared with the informal power structure within the school? How does each structure work?
         3) To achieve a particular goal--choose an example--what would your strategy be?
         4) What differing views are held by the various power groups?
   2. Develop a plan to change some aspect of the school:
      a. Test by trying in reality to achieve change--if reasonable for situation;
      b. Test by discussing with cooperating teacher and other student teachers:
         1) What is a proposal which would be possible to achieve in school? What would not be possible?
         2) What are some possible strategies for winning support and acceptance of proposal?
         3) Whose support would be necessary?
         4) Can the student teachers simulate the strategies they would like to try and evaluate them?
   3. An on-site seminar on the school as a transmitter of values:
      a. Including parents, cooperating teachers and college supervisor:
         1) What are the values being taught in the school?
         2) How are they transmitted through the curriculum?
         3) How are they transmitted through the classroom routine?
         4) Through an analysis of video tapes of student teachers' classroom teaching what are the particular values being taught by the student teacher?
         5) How are the values which are transmitted by the school chosen and agreed upon?
   4. Analysis of video tapes and observations of role student teacher and other teachers play in transmitting values:
      a. With other student teachers;
      b. With cooperating teacher and college supervisor:
         1) What are the values being taught by the student teacher?

2) What is the difference between the values of the student teacher and the values of the children?, of the community?, of the teachers in the school?
3) What value conflicts arise among the children? How does the student teacher respond to the conflict?
4) How did the student teacher come to his values? Why does the student teacher present his values as he does in his class?
5) Are the values he presents the ones he wants to present?
6) What is the difference between the values a particular teacher professes to present and the values he does present?

5. Interviews in the community to determine the role of the school in the power structure of the community:
   a. Visits to political meetings in the community;
   b. Seminars for analysis for data:
      1) What are the political structures in the community which are relevant to the school?
      2) What is the role of the school in the political victories and defeats of different power groups?
      3) How do the power groups which are relevant to the school function? What are their goals for the school?
      4) How does the student teacher view the goals of the power groups in the community in relation to the school?
      5) How does the student teacher view the nature of the power groups in the community--their composition--their power spheres--their mode of functioning?


Analysis of School Political Structure
Exploration of Curriculum Resources in Community
Analysis of Community Political Structure
Simulation of School Change of Curriculum
Seminar in Community Values as Transmitted in School
Analysis of Video Tapes of Student Teacher as Transmitter of Values
Interviews Re: Community Values
Analysis of Student Teacher's Teaching Styles Re: Objectives
Student Teacher Explores own Family Experiences
Case Study of Children in Their Families
Analysis of Student Teachers Re: Emotional Needs of Students

# The Center for Inner City Studies As a Community Enterprise

Dr. Nancy L. Arnez
Professor and Director
Center for Inner City Studies
Chicago, Illinois

Amidst the controversy over community control, tenant strikes, welfare rights, gang warfare, and urban renewal, Chicago's Center for Inner City Studies sits physically in the middle of a Model Cities target area and intellectually in the heart of America's urban crisis.

The Center for Inner City Studies, although its legitimate base is in the more or less traditional "Educational Institutions of Higher Learning," represents a radical departure from the general academic framework. Its primary concern is with the human condition in the inner city. This means that the accepted categories of academic speculation are generally considered too limited and remote from the total life experience to produce the insights and ideas that would promote the relevant changes in human relations as they are determined by the real needs of inner city communities. Whether the "existing framework" of colleges and universities meets the needs of other communities, i.e., non-inner city communities is irrelevant because if the needs of the inner city are not met then the outer city will lose its base of existence. The Center for Inner City Studies, although it must relate to the given institutional framework, is committeed to fit its resources to the total community problem. This means for example that in training teachers the Center must equip the teacher to deal from the framework of the community in its complex of cultural, economic, social and political problems. The up-shot is that where education has traditionally attempted to fit its "products" into the categories which in effect limit human choice, the Center is designed to liberate its community first in mind and then in concrete experience.[1]

The Center for Inner City Studies began official operation in the Abraham Lincoln Centre, a social settlement house located in a southside Black poverty area, on August 1, 1966, with three full-time and seven part-time faculty members. Supported primarily by an Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program grant (awarded under Title V, part C of the Higher Education Act of 1965), the Center commenced its graduate programs on September 8, under the directorship of Dr. Donald H. Smith, the founder of CICS and designer of its master plan. A community advisory committee made some input into the college offerings. The institution has developed

[1] Dr. Jacob Carruthers, Chairman, Department of Inner City Studies

all of its components by looking to the desire, needs, and opportunities of the community about it. For example, the library of the Center for Inner City Studies constitutes one of the unique resource collections in the city of Chicago, since its holdings are geared primarily to the concerns of excluded urban citizens. The major portion of the material is concerned with the Afro-American, Mexican American, Puerto Ricans, the American Indian and finally, the poor Appalachian white urban migrant. Increasing research into Black history accounts for the large proportion of background material on African history, politics, and geography.

Again the Center has sought to relate its cultural activities to the life of the community about it. For example, the first big community endeavor which the Center engaged in was the production of "Rapsodi in Black." In the words of Mrs. Stone, the producer;

> Central to the issues of communications is the systematic suppression of the messages of the dispossessed. Following this premise, classes studying the 'Culture of Poverty' look elsewhere than in the language for communications. The notion that behavior is, itself, a form of communication is a basis for decoding non-verbal messages emanating from the ghettos. Thus, last summer, student translations of contemporary soul dances resulted in 'Rapsodi in Black,' a union of intellectual and indigenous talent.
>
> While studying the 'Culture of Poverty' during the fall of 1967, Christine Sherard discovered that social dancing among Black people contained incisive social commentary. Mrs. Sherard, a Chicago teacher, observed that both the names and the movements of popular Black dances were proud, aggressive, and defiant. Mrs. Sherard's discovery led the writer to suggest that a subsequent class extend the idea. From June 25 to August 10, 1968, a most extraordinary project went into production. A class of 13 graduate students researched, recorded, and reproduced fifteen years of soul dancing in the ghetto. Their findings were revolutionary. They found that the collective experience of Black people in this country is crystallized in the dance; they found that social dancing reflects social change; they found that one index to the Black liberation movement is the liberation of movement in Black dance...

> Dances such as the 'Chicken' of the early fifties were a satirical commentary on the pursuit of freedom through courts and integration. The cool mood of the late fifties exemplified by the 'Stroll,' 'Madison,' and 'Continental' depicted a desire to infiltrate the mainstream and a denial of the resulting pain and anguish. During the early sixties, animal themes--'Horse,' 'Gorilla,' 'Snake,' 'Dog,' --indicated the bestiality of white American witnessed in the savage treatment of civil rights demonstrators. Finally, the middle sixties are characterized by multidimensional body movements and revolutionary themes, e.g. 'The Black Power Stomp.'
>
> Needless to say, the [Center for Inner City Studies] class found this project fascinating and rewarding; but, had their findings remained within the classroom, their labors would have been purely academic. Instead, they put on a talent search and recruited pre-teens and teenagers to reenact the dances for an audience of 1,000 community people. They interspersed the dance scenes with gigantic slides chronicling the last fifteen years of the freedom movement and paralleling the development of the dances. They involved more than 100 persons both within and without the college community in the mechanics, the conceptualization, and the final production of 'Rapsodi in Black.'
>
> 'Rapsodi in Black' is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of community-school educational reciprocity. The Black community provided the class with unlimited resources in substance, depth, talent, and criticism. The school, in turn, provided the community with research skills, technical assistance, and media through which their messages could be projected. [2]

Since 1969, the Center for Inner City Studies has had a Cultural Committee. The aims and purposes of the cultural committee are: to serve the cultural interests of the students and faculty of the Center for Inner City Studies and the community in which the Center is situated; to write proposals to various funding agencies to finance some or all cultural programs at the Center; to present experts on certain aspects of cultural viz.

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[2]Sonja Stone, "Chicago's Center for Inner City Studies: An Experiment in Relevancy," Social Education, Vol. 33. No. 5, May 1969, pp. 528-532.

speakers, consultants to workshops, performers and adjudicators of art; to supervise research, writing and presentation of plays on leaders, episodes and social life of minority cultures e.g. play on Black thinkers; to lay foundation for the founding of a Black theater at the Center complex.

Two years ago the Cultural Committee began a community cultural project with the goal of producing a play on Black thinkers. All cultural organizations in the community such as Afro-Arts Theatre, and the Organization of Black Arts Council were invited to sponsor a joint project which would involve research, the writing of a play by commissioned playwrights, and production. This activity subsequently divided itself into a series of steps:

1. Research on the life and works of Black heroes, undertaken by ten instructors of the Center with their students, concerned such black heroes as Albert Luthuli, Patrice Lumumba, Frantz Fanon, W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Martin Delany. Each instructor assumed the responsibility of forming a committee of 3-5 students who extracted major ideas, personality traits, successes, failures, etc. and produced a biographical and interpretive profile on each hero.

2. The second phase of this project was completed after Eugene Perkins and Ted Ward wrote a play using research material collected by our faculty, students and themselves. They presented the play to the cultural committee in March 1971.

3. The third stage of the project has been to go to one of the funding agencies who might sponsor the production of a play. It has been suggested that two companies of players--a local and a travelling company--be maintained. The local company could be composed of students from Martin Luther King Performing Arts High School (formerly Forrestville) who would put on the play throughout Metropolitcan Chicago's Black community; the travelling company, composed of professional and semi-professional actors, would travel throughout the nation.

The Center for Inner City Studies conducts, in the context of the broadly based cultural and community studies, a variety of programs relating to the education of teachers and educational personnel. These programs are also rooted in a specific analysis of the urban experiences--in this case the language of urban cultures. The Follow Through Program, which carries Head Start preschool graduates through the early primary grades, offers special approaches to instruction along with medical, dental, nutritional, psychological, and social services that many educators believe contribute to the learning process. Some research grants will help local projects implement promising instructional approaches; others will seek to strengthen medical and other ancillary services. A few research programs will focus on evaluating the instructional methods. The Center for

Inner City Studies Follow Through Approach, uses a "cultural Linguistic Approach" designed by Nancy Arnez, Clara Holton, Grace Holt, Rene' Edmonds, and Mildred Smith, and it operates in Topeka, Kansas (2 schools) and Chicago, Illinois (4 schools). The Cultural Linguistic Approach is an oral language program that builds on the patterns of thought and the educational gains already achieved by the child who uses a non-standard English dialect or another language; it uses a curriculum based on the child's own culture and on his oral capacity to increase his reading, writing, problem solving, conceptual, and other skills in English.

Again, the Center for Inner City Studies reaches out to the streets in other ways. The Chicago westside Black youths, who the faculty of the Center for Inner City Studies advised, (East Garfield Park Youths) are self-determined and self-directed. Some time ago, these youths became disillusioned with the public school system and, therefore, left high school before graduating. Because of their disillusionment, they decided to establish an alternative school system for the people in their community. They negotiated with some priests to occupy an empty convent and school in preparation for the opening of their own community school; soon, however, the priests reneged on their verbal agreement and sent the police to evict the young people from the facility and land. Many of the young people were injured in the fight with the police, but, nevertheless, they remained in the building. Following this incident an open house affair was held to apprise the community of their intention to conduct a relevant school program for children and adults.

The success of this affair did not deter the priests from again sending the police into the convent to evict the youths. This occasion also resulted in numerous arrests and injured youths. It was after this second invasion that the faculty of the Center for Inner City Studies advised the youths to move to a structure offered by another religious group. This they did and continued plans to set up their alternative school system. Late in the year, the Director of the Center for Inner City Studies received a communication from the group of young men indicating they had just filed their charter for a community school whose purpose is:

> To provide educational facilities for all age groups in the community with specific emphasis on health, recreation and training programs. These programs will be designed by the youth with full participation of the community.

Furthermore, the communication states:

> The Board of Directors will serve in an advisory role with all final decision being made by the executive committee of Pettis college. The school is

presently going ahead under the direction of the youth and with the sponsorship of the Center for Inner City Studies.

The Center is not without its concern for the development of research skills. For instance, in May 1970, a community elementary research methods course was organized with a two-fold purpose:

1) To educate a group of community people in research skills, not merely qualified as interviewers, but prepared to serve as research assistants and

2) To conduct a survey in the Grand Boulevard-Oakland community to glean community opinions about college, in general, and the Center for Inner City Studies, in particular.

Both of the above goals were realized through weekly classes in which the participants designed the instrument, selected the sample and interviewed community residents for the study. They also received extensive experience as interviewers for a viewer-shop study of Sesame Street conducted by the Institute of Education Development. A final report of the community college survey is now being prepared. Preliminary tabulations show that out of the 900 community residents interviewed, 835 favored having a college in the community. The community research class now plans to compile a directory for residents of Grand Boulevard-Oakland which lists important services, agencies, and businesses in the community. Such a booklet will be valuable to new residents coming into the neighborhood as a result of recently constructed housing as well as a boon to long standing residents who may be unaware of what services are available to them.

The Center has developed a variety of other activities:

a) Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program
b) Extended Day Program
c) Extension Programs
d) Prospective Teacher Fellowship Program
e) National Defense Education Act Institute
f) Midwest Program for School Desegregation
g) Career Opportunities Program
h) Youth Programs
i) Adult Activity Program

The decision to move more rapidly in the direction of offering more services to local residents of the Kenwood-Oakwood community was precipitated by several meetings between Center faculty and local residents during 1968-69. At that time, community residents very strongly urged the Center

to make its program more relevant to local community needs. In this regard, they suggested that we move in two directions just as soon as possible - Community College or Undergraduate program and a Day Care program.

In the summer of 1968 we began providing undergraduate training for the Woodlawn Experimental Schools project aides. Additional aides were incorporated into the program in 1969 under the aegis of the Co-Plus project and a regular four year Undergraduate College program was developed in the summer of 1970 under the aegis of the Career Opportunity Program. September of 1972 will see the introduction of our Upper Elementary School Sequence.

"A College for You--The New College"

The New College at the University of Alabama represents a bold departure from the traditional approach to the undergraduate educational experience.

Simply stated, the New College is designed to stimulate student growth--the realization of individual potential.

The assumptions on which the New College is based include the following:

--That each individual is unique with different needs

--That an educational program should be developed which reflects the interests and capabilities of each student

--That opportunities should be provided for an individual to be able to learn to think and to deal with principles and concepts rather than simply to memorize data

--That students are capable of accepting much of the responsibility for their own learning when given the opportunity to do so

--That significant learning occurs outside of class as well as within

--That problem-focused, general education experiences of an interdisciplinary nature which demonstrate the integration of knowledge are highly desirable in our modern day world

The New College is small in numbers, flexible in structure and personal in approach.

The student will be offered studies in the main disciplinary areas within the humanities and the natural and social sciences through seminars which will help him pursue the relationships and interdependencies between these and other bodies of knowledge. All the program features--course work, advising, off-campus experiences--are planned around the theme of a practical integration of knowledge. The goal is to give each student a depth of understanding and the ability to make decisions on the basis of informed and thoughtful judgment. In so doing, it is hoped that the student will be able to extend his capabilities from personal to community betterment.

*From "A College for You - The New College," University of Alabama Bulletin, Vol. 64, Number 11, November 25, 1970

The general context for achieving the goals of the New College is an innovative approach to undergraduate learning.

The New College will set its own requirements for admission, progression, and graduation; it will utilize highly individualized study and learning programs, teaching modes and devices, and will draw freely from the extensive and diverse scholarship from the entire University faculty. It will be characterized by small size, structural and procedural flexibility, and interdisciplinary potential.

The program should constitute excellent preparation for professional training and graduate school because of its comprehensive nature. . .

## What is the New College Program?

### Admission

Since the New College is not an honor's college, the program will be available to students representing a wide range of academic backgrounds and levels of intellectual achievement, provided they manifest a significant degree of motivation and intellectual independence. The selection procedure will ensure the enrollment of a representative cross section of students with regard to such factors as abilities, age, race, sex, and professional or vocational interests.

In addition to the usual entrance examinations, the applicant will be required to participate in admission conferences, to complete other appropriate tests, and to present a curriculum vitae setting forth his educational history and future ambitions. Men and women admitted to the New College must be eager to learn, and above all, they must be ready to accept much of the responsibility for their own learning.

The costs for attending the New College are the same as the tuition and charges for attending any school or college of The University.

### The Concept of Advising

In tailoring a program of learning for each student, the Contract-Advising Committee, of which the student will be a voting member, will focus careful attention on individual student needs, desires, capacities, motivations, past academic performance, and other features which contribute to the total development of the individual. Each student will have a Contract-Advising Committee to assist him in determining his interests and choosing educational experiences most closely related to those interests

which contribute to the total development of the individual.

A Core Tutor, the student, and, at the student's option, a maximum of two other persons of his choice will make up the Contract-Advising Committee. These other two individuals may be members of the faculty, fellow students, or persons from outside the campus community. For example, a student's resident advisor in the residence hall might serve on such a committee or a person from beyond the confines of the campus, such as a minister who is particularly effective at pastoral counseling if this is a student's interest, would add a dimension of practicality to advising by bringing another set of experiences.

In other words, the concept of advising includes not only concern for how much knowledge the student has in terms of demonstrated course performance, etc., but also a concern for his character, attitudes, interests, motivation, etc., so that the student will be assisted with his total development as a person.

The Contract-Advising Committee will meet periodically with the student to discuss and evaluate his progress and performance.

## The Contract

With the help of the Contract-Advising Committee, the student will develop his program of education which will constitute his contract with the New College regarding his education. It will be possible to modify or change the contract by request of the student through his Contract Review.

According to the terms of his contract, each student will be responsible for the completion of the interdisciplinary seminars, a number of electives, a depth-study program, and other experiences agreed upon by the Contract-Advising Committee. An off-campus learning experience for credit is highly recommended for each student.

## Interdisciplinary Seminars

The goal of the interdisciplinary seminar experience will be to help the student prepare for a life that joins intellectual depth with aesthetic sensibility and social usefulness.

These seminars will be required of all students and will run throughout the student's time at the University, providing some 25 to 30 per cent

of his educational experience. This will afford a common intellectual experience to foster a sense of community in the New College.

These interdisciplinary, problem-focused seminars are designed to achieve three objectives. First, they are expected to provide the student with an opportunity to gain an understanding of the fundamentals of the main disciplinary areas within the humanities, social sciences, and sciences. Second, they are expected to assist the student in gaining an understanding of the relationships and interdependencies between these and other bodies of knowledge, including those of a vocational nature. Third, the seminars are directly concerned with the great and urgent problems of the human condition, and are designed both to help the student understand these problems and to be effective in responsible relationship to them.

For example, a contemporary issue such as pollution or poverty may be selected as the problem to be focused on for a period of time. An analysis of how the various disciplines impinge upon the particular problem under study--history, biology, economics, political science, etc.--would provide the basis for class discussion, reading and projects.

It is intended that an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary problems will provide a way for the student to bridge the gap between knowing and doing.

## Depth-Study Program

The concept of the Depth-Study Program corresponds to what is generally considered a departmental "major." The New College advisors working together with the departmental advisors will assist the student in designing an appropriate depth-study program. If it is decided that a student's needs may best be met by doing so, he may be exempted from a depth-study program in order to pursue an interdivisional program. Independent study options will be available as an additional way for a student to pursue study in his area of interest.

## The Electives Program

A major portion, 70 to 75 per cent, of the student's total academic experience will come through the regular classes offered in the various departments and divisions in the University. Since a student needs to develop broader interests than the interdisciplinary seminars and the depth-study programs may be able to satisfy, he will be expected to take a

number of elective courses. The chosen elective courses may offer the student an opportunity to pursue interest which may become depth-study areas.

Off-Campus Experience

Each student will be encouraged to take part in an off-campus learning experience for credit. This will enable the actual involvement of the student in a practical experience of an "internship" or "apprenticeship" nature.

For example, a student interested in social work may well be involved in the actual processes of social work while a student and his off-campus experiences might include appropriate reading, keeping of a journal, reports back to persons on campus, etc., as a way to be sure that these off-campus experiences occur within appropriate guidelines. Similar opportunities will be available to students with other interests, i.e., sciences, arts, etc. It will then be possible for a student's depth-study and his practical off-campus experience to be interlocked so that his development in comprehension, skills, and abilities will be tested and measured through this set of experiences. The same would hold if his interests were in business, the sciences, in fine arts, in teaching, or in other areas.

Other options may include a kind of cross-cultural experience through one of the University's established programs such as international studies.

Evaluation

The student will be involved in the evaluation of his own performance and progress in such a way that he will be assisted with understanding his total development as a person. In other words, evaluation will not only take place through examinations and some type of grading, but also through specific comments made by the student's instructors and with the help of his Contract-Advising Committee.

The Contract-Advising Committee will discuss with the student its assessment of his achievement including evaluation of work done in the interdisciplinary seminars, the depth study area, off-campus experiences, through examinations plus instructors' evaluations of class participation, written work, course performance, independent study, and the student's progress towards total development.

Evaluation of student performance as far as grading is concerned will range from traditional course grading for those whose vocational interests require it through experimentation with the pass-fail system, advanced placement examinations for degree credit, proficiency examinations conducted by outside examiners, etc.

It is important for the student to receive periodic and specific feedback about how he is progressing toward his stated goals.

Individualized Graduation Requirements

Utilization of evaluation procedures as noted above are certain to result in considerable variety in the programs for different students because the capacities of students and the academic experiences they bring with them to the college will not be uniform. This may mean that the equivalent of 115 hours could suffice for the bachelor's program for a given student whereas the equivalent of 12 8 hours might be necessary for another, even though both students might be interested in the same depth-study area.

The New College experience will lead to a Bachelor of Arts or a Bachelor of Science degree, depending on the student's depth-study program. A frequent question is, "What do I do with a New College Degree?" In most cases the answer is, "Whatever you would do with any other degree from a college." The interdisciplinary general education experiences in the New College will afford excellent preparation for students with ambitions for graduate study or for professional careers in various areas including teaching, business, medicine, etc. As long as a student has performed satisfactorily in the New College, it is not anticipated that he would have any difficulty transferring credits to another college or university.

Education for Personal Development

The common thread interwoven throughout the various program features previously described is education for personal development within a constantly changing social context.

The program of education for personal development encourages the discovering of self so that the student can be strong enough to shape the future as he carries his own education forward through life. It is believed that a program based upon the recognition that learning is personal and occurs through widely varied experiences will afford the student an opportunity for personal development which will enable him to live responsibly in a society of awesome hazards and immense promise.

Reorganizing the College of Education
(Effective, Spring Term, 1971-72)

Paul G. Orr
Dean, College of Education
University of Alabama

Following is information concerning the reorganization of the College of Education at The University of Alabama. The new organization will improve the College's ability to develop new programs and also to eliminate programs and/or program elements that are not high priority or are no longer viable.

Key elements in the new structure include:

1. The abolishment of all departments and department headships or chairmanships.

2. The creation of five areas* to house all programs; each area with an Area Head, and each program with a program chairman.

   a. Area Heads are relatively permanent and have primary responsibility for budgets, scheduling and faculty load assignments, coordination and development of all programs in the area, including contracts and grants, and linking the area to other areas by serving as a member of the Executive Council of the College.

   b. Programs and Program Chairmen will be subject to change as program demands and developments warrant. Program Chairmen have primary responsibility for curriculum development, improvement of instruction and serving as members of their Area's Coordination Committee.

3. The structure is the new vehicle which will be used to study further the organization of the College and to generate other developments and alternatives. Additional improvements are anticipated.

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*Special Education, Counseling and Guidance and Vocational Education are designated in the Educational Services Area but will continue to operate separately for the present time.

4. A phase-in process will begin with the Spring term (1971-72) and be implemented fully by 1972-73. Modified program budgeting will begin in 1972, particularly for assignment of faculty time to programs.

It is believed that this new structure will provide the faculty with the organizational change necessary for accelerated academic and curricular changes.

Some expected developments include:

1. Superior programs in the preparation of teachers as a result of coordinated planning by those in curriculum and instruction with faculty input directed to programs rather than to departments.

2. New programs of at least two years duration to prepare school principals for their increasingly complex tasks of instructional leadership, faculty development, and curriculum improvement.

3. A better organization and more concerted efforts in developing a delivery system for undergraduate clinical learning experiences.

4. A better system of linking to the public schools in Alabama for cooperative programs and program development, and hopefully, for the exchange of personnel.

5. A structure that can be more responsive in helping to meet the increasingly complex educational needs in Alabama.

6. A more efficient, effective and functional operation, particularly in increasing our ability for rapid change.

New areas include the following:

1. Educational Administration and Higher Education
2. Educational Services
3. Curriculum and Instruction
4. Foundations
5. Health, Physical Education and Recreation

# Restructuring University Organization Through Program Budgeting

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A great deal of literature concerning various planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS) is available. Most of it centers on technical processes and problems, or anticipated benefits of better communication internally and with the public (or, specifically, with funding sources) about what people are getting for their money--"why", "where", and "for what" money or more money is needed. The literature also weaves in the notion that one can do a better job of demonstrating that supporting education is good business because there is an economic return to society (cost benefit analysis). The underlying assumption is that a PPBS assists the university community to do better whatever it decides to do, that is,to relate resources to goals within a priority system. All of these aspects are interesting, valuable and should result in a system of better planning, better programming and better budgeting. Such a system is purported to overcome many of the limitations inherent in traditional budgeting and to accomplish some goals not otherwise attainable. It should result in clear, measureable instead of vague objectives; it should provide capacity to retrieve and format data for decision-making purposes, e.g., generating alternative futures instead of being locked-in with no apparent alternatives; it pressuresdecision makers to move from simple annual or biennal to multi-year budgeting, to build an integrated system in which programs and budgeting are connected, and to employ sophisticated program analyses, including zero budget ideal, cost benefit analysis and so on.

Perhaps what is most lacking in the literature are forthright statements that relate PPB systems to the desperate need to restructure universities for program reasons. Program budgeting is, in fact, one of the vital components of any substantial change process simply because it provides a structure through which resources can be related directly to programs.

Before it can become clear what a program budget can do, it is necessary to review some of the barriers to constraints on change existing in a typical university organization. Most of the evidence emerging from studies and reviews of organizational structures of universities supports the general supposition that it is almost impossible for any administrator or management team to perform their management function with any suitable degree of effectiveness: the magnitude of programs for which a university is responsible, as well as the complexity of many of the programs managed,

tends to create increasingly greater organizational problems. This should be of primary concern to faculties, for they cannot, at the present time, impact many programs for which they provide an integral part or to which they make a substantial contribution.

With the constant addition of new programs to either academic departments or parallel structures, such as institutes or centers (often designed to circumvent departmental restrictions), and the concurrent resulting addition of more people to manage these programs, the problem becomes more complex and progressively harder to solve or to improve upon under typical organizational structure. It seems clear that a university that is programatically and functionally organized would be more effective than one that is organized without regard to function or program but patterned on academic departments and some centralized non-academic functions. Organizing by departments has the tendency to promote separate action by each division and to encourage "empire building." There is little evidence that there is a coordinative relationship between various academic departments and their activities and little commonality of goals or objectives, when there should be. Attempts have been made to rectify this compartmentalization by increased committee and coordinating meetings and more free-flowing communication stimulated by a variety of administrators, faculty leaders, and others. New patterns, however, when designed within existing structures, tend to be cumbersome, compromising and transitory. In the final analysis, substantive change has not resulted and will probably result only from some rather drastic restructuring of the total organization.

If a university is to operate at a minimal level of efficiency, then it will need to be reorganized on the basis of function and programs as control centers rather than academic departments. Change is neither easy nor obvious. For example, a PPB system assumes that universities--through their constituent parts--know (or can determine) what their program goals are and have a fairly good sense of direction about how to attain them. The typical structure has too many internal constraints for this to occur, however, and some transitional organizational patterns are required before much progress will be made.

Almost everyone agrees with the premise that organization and structure should support a university's programs. Most question, however, whether this is the case, or if, indeed, programs must fit into the existing "organization" whether or not that structure is supportive. Consequently, most academic programs are organization bound and it would appear, in most cases, that curricula are compromises. The curricula appear to be compromised as a result of departments controlling programs or pieces of programs. The major question seems to be, should organization support programs or should organization determine programs. This latter is antithetical to the strength of the university, the talent, intelligence and attitudes of its faculty. From an administrative and leadership standpoint, the question becomes how to change a structure which no longer adequately

supports the programs which most people agree should be effected. For faculty, the basic question seems to be how can their judgment and intelligence bear on programs other than those controlled by their department.

Most of the major opportunities and the major problems of the world require people who can function effectively in their own field (discipline) or area of preparation and also be able to relate that field to other disciplines and areas. Current training and preparation in most areas, however, is so overly specialized or overly general that the person cannot function effectively in positions for which ostensibly, he has been prepared. For instance, urban renewal, rural development, environmental pollution, teaching problems of democracy in high school, or fostering cultural pluralism, do not relate to a single discipline and, yet, are not related simply to a string of courses in different academic departments. Training for such roles requires a program in which diverse knowledge and processes can be integrated.

In attempting to design a program which prepares one for almost any given career, the present structure of academic departments in higher education probably restricts the best and most appropriate utilization of the individual and collective intelligence of the faculty. In a departmental structure, a faculty member does not have the organization support necessary to change and improve programs other than to do better what he is now doing or to do more of it. More and more professors find that their area of specialization has implications for many additional programs other than the kind of program in which they were trained. Indeed, some are finding that their discipline is dead except as it may relate to an interdisciplinary program. In many disciplines, it may well be that programshoused in traditional departments rely very heavily on other professors in other departments for integral parts of the program, yet these very same people have no power to determine the nature of the program other than by persuasion or by serving on a committee. This is not conducive to supporting programs. Finally, the problem of self-preservation seems to be paramount in the minds of many people when they are in the department structure. This leads to compromising the curriculum as frequently as it leads to giving the best thought and intelligence possible to determining what a program ought to look like rather than determining a curriculum on the basis of its potential to assure the continuation of support--particularly financial--to a department.

We seem to be operating in higher education from an evolved notion that everyone ought to be involved in everything and every kind of decision making rather than following a principle that people ought to do what they best know how to do. For example, program decision-making ought to occur at a level as close as possible to programs, that is only faculty, notthe administrative levels. The present departmental structure of most universities however, makes it practically impossible for this role differentiation

to occur simply because heavy orientation to departments does not provide the decision-making and communication linkage at the appropriate level, i.e. administrators make decisions which faculty should make. Therefore, faculty members sometimes feel that administrators are their enemies and vice versa. In effect, faculty members should have the opportunity to make a number of decisions about programs, while administrators should be able to transmute the needs thus identified into an organizational pattern that will support the programs. Some type of change must occur which frees faculty to influence programs to which they contribute or should contribute. One way to solve part of this problem is through relating resources to programs. This appears to be highly appropriate not only in terms of programmatic needs and appropriateness of involvement of all people in a university, but seems to be an imperative if the signals that appear likely for higher education are indeed correct: most of the improvement and change that will occur in higher education during the next couple of decades will be through a reallocation of resources rather than through simply increasing the amount of resources available for the purpose of creating parallel structures or parallel programs in order to do a job as it should be done.

The most popular terminology being used today for improved management is something that relates to program budgeting. (Let me clarify that I am not talking about PPBS as developed in the Defense Department and which is probably appropriate to make a decision when you have a limited number of alternatives but is not appropriate in higher education where the major problem is having too many alternatives). Very simply stated, a program budget does have the potential to relate resources to programs and of course this means that resources would not be assigned to a line item budget in a department. Universities are very complex organizations, probably the most complex organization of any entity in the modern world. It seems unbelievable that on those few occasions when administrators, faculty, students and society all agree that something should be done, can establish a goal and identify supporting activities, that the structure of higher education at the present time cannot be responsive in spite of this perfect agreement simply because a university has no structure through which it can relate resources to programs. Everyone then becomes frustrated. The key to change may well be program budgeting because it doesn't simply relate resources to programs, but permits certain programs to be phased out without constituting a threat to the people who may have been in a department or a discipline. The vast majority of universities should not be concerned with advanced graduate programs (research centers) but most appropriately, may be a community of scholarly people who change as the nature of programs change. This is in contrast to the traditional approach that each professor has a discipline in which he becomes more and more highly specialized as years go by, but never applies or has opportunity to apply that discipline in a different manner or to begin pursuing a related discipline. There is merit to the belief that people continue learning and

that most university professors should have the equivalent of eight or ten "doctorates" by the time they finish their careers in the university.

Universities need to become more responsive than they are now. At this time, however, no one knows what the restructuring ought to look like and how it will work. As a matter of organizational theory, any complex organization must go through a development period if it is indeed to bring about substantial and institutionalized change. The first step in strategy to restructure higher education may be the abolishment of traditional academic departments and their replacement with an organization with much greater emphasis on programs. A modified program budgeting system may encourage this step. Otherwise, a university cannot reallocate faculty time (which constitutes about 80 per cent of total expenses) in order to be more responsive to programs. Obviously, a transitional period is necessary for this restructuring to occur, and a critical first need is for faculty to have a structure which supports debate, deliberation, projection, innovation and experimentation in developing new programs without having to freeze an organizational pattern before adequate plans are developed. The same kind of re-organization that should occur in a college or school must later occur from division to division, i. e. education, arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, etc.

In this developmental period, the program budgeting process will be more complex and will require that a number of cross walks be developed. Of course, in the not too distant future one may hope that programs will not be credit-course-oriented to the extent that such a pattern controls organization and allocation of resources but that budgets will develop to the point that they support learning experiences and performance measurements which in turn are components of programs.

In summary, some of the advantages of a program budgeting system are:

1. Faculty can become involved in determining what learning experiences and performances should constitute a program without threat of dissolution of a department which is the only home they have; hence faculty are freed to use their best intelligence rather than being in a constant conflict of interest.

2. Reallocation of faculty will be possible when budgets support programs and faculty have opportunity to use their area of expertise to support one or more programs.

3. Universities will be able to stop doing some things they now do in order to give higher priority to other things they need to do.

4. It will provide much more appropriate utilization of talent and intelligence at a much better level than is now being utilized, and provide opportunity for faculty development in new directions.

5. It will permit reallocation of programs and resources because it will remove the threat that now exists when line item budgeting is in departments.

6. It will provide faculty members with time to concern themselves about curriculum development and the improvement of instruction rather than protection of domain or certain management functions that really do not require the high level of training, expertise and intelligence that department heads now have.

7. It will foster inter-disciplinary program development.

8. It will provide for state, regional and national needs to be met better by reducing unnecessary duplication and proliferation.

## VI. CREDENTIALLING: REAL VS. VESTED AUTHORITY

Most participants agree that some change is needed in the credentialling system to make room for teachers with real rather than vested authority. The communities' role in the credentialling is also discussed revealing a variety of views.

Doyle proposes a national commission be formed to reform the licensing of teachers.

## VI. Credentialling: Real vs. Vested Authority

PAUL OLSON: Earlier I asked whether Colleges of Education had a function. I have heard you say that they have a structural place in the university and that that place is not sufficiently dignified. I also have heard you say that we need new ways of relating Arts and Sciences and Education College through perhaps Teaching Training Centers, Centers for Inner City Studies, common curricula, new learning formats and so forth. But I want to put the question in a different way. I want to know what it is that Colleges of Education do. Or what does Higher Education do? What is the authority or the skills which it conveys?

LARRY FREEMAN: What do you mean by that?

PAUL OLSON: I mean that we need to come to some kind of conception of what it is we are certifying, credentialling, or performance criterioning when we say somebody is a teacher. What constitutes the authority of a teacher.

I know a wood sculptor named George Lopez in Cordova, New Mexico. His father taught him how to make wood sculptures. He has taught his children to do wood sculpture. He could clearly teach me how to make wood sculpture. He knows how to do something which he can teach. I am not at all sure what it is that a teacher knows how to do that somebody else doesn't know how to do. In some contexts it looks as if a teacher is regarded as having the authority of a teacher because he does not know how to do certain things. To have, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, all English-speaking teachers and practically all Lakota-speaking children, for almost a century is a travesty; to have teachers--people called educators--to have people who are going to bring children from childhood to adulthood, who lack the very basic skills necessary to communication is a travesty. In such a situation, to ask the child to do the language learning and not the teacher almost looks as if the teacher is brought in in order to be dysfunctional himself, in order to make the system dysfunctional.

Indian tribes in Nebraska have taken over the Johnson O'Malley funds. The Winnebago said, "We want Winnebago language, history and culture taught in the schools. It is important to our sense of who we are, our sense of relationship to the past; it is important in the community for a communication between the generations, because some old people speak Winnebago and most young people do not."

The superintendent of schools replied, "Where can you get me a certified Winnebago-speaking teacher?" He said, "I mean somebody who has an undergraduate major in Winnebago history and Winnebago language." Obviously no one has such credentials because the university can't offer them. The credentialling argument became the means of keeping effective teachers out.

In traditional non-Western cultures and in Western cultures prior to the Renaissance, children were placed in touch with certain adult skills which could lead them from the state of incompetence to competence, from childhood to adulthood, in ways which will be helpful to the community. As Aries shows, apprenticeship was a clear stage; childhood was not. We are not asking for such adults in this country and, as Illich argues, the sophistication of our technology implies that only a very few people could commonly have such authority.

VITO PERRONE: There is an old medicine man at Zuni who has agreed to take three of the primary children out for a walk each day; in the process, they talk about the vegetation and its significance in the older culture, its name both in English and in the older language. It is a very good experience. I was describing that to someone who told me, "But you know that is against the state law. The school is liable. He is not a certified teacher. It is also during the school day." And it is at that point that you really have to ask the question about who is a teacher. Not only legally, but morally, Who is the teacher?

The person in the classroom is not a teacher in the way in which that old Zuni man is a teacher.

DEAN CORRIGAN: My son was in the 10th grade and teaches 4th grade mathematics in a neighboring elementary school two mornings per week. He has learned more math by teaching other kids. There are seven kids working with him. You can define a teacher as someone you can learn something from or someone who helps you learn something. We can come up with hundreds of ways of defining teachers. The conflict comes when you set up an exclusive system that says only those people who have passed the credentialling requirements can teach. What is happening is that present interest groups are trying to maintain the status quo. Aides are running into all kinds of problems; you cannot even get community resource people into schools in some places. Teachers are getting hung up about sharing what they have with other people for fear they are going to lose their job.

VITO PERRONE: Let me give one more instance: A Sioux woman who teaches Sioux language and culture at the University probably managed to finish the 9th grade; she is one of the finest teachers I have ever seen; her work with undergraduate students is exemplary. Could she teach at the high school? No. She couldn't teach at the high school because she lacks all of the certification to teach in that setting. She never has taught in the high school that serves Indian children from her community. (She is not going to teach in that high school). Yet, she has more to contribute to the study of the history, language culture of her own community than anyone else in the school.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: One of my concerns is redefining who the teacher is, getting people who do not traditionally think of themselves as being school teachers into the classroom and into the school, resensitizing

teachers to the power relationships in the school and in the community, and perhaps reorganizing some of these power relationships by getting other sorts of people into the schools.

My other concern has to do with what actually happens in a school: how do we educate the people who will be and are working with children so that they will be able to empathize with the children they are working with. That implies that these people be adults with a clear sense of who they are, what they are bringing with them, where they have come from, how they feel about their own childhood, how they feel about their own adulthood, as well as skill in helping children to grow emotionally. These concerns spring from the perception which I mentioned earlier--that the political shift in this country is part of a crisis in emotional growth in our society. Teachers are in a central positionto do work on this problem. We do need to change the institutions we are operating in, the institutions that have the most control over the teacher education.[1] For instance, we might explore the possibility of cadres of teachers and parents actually carrying out teacher education, educating their peers or younger people moving into the profession. Professional training has frequently done more to distance us from ourselves and the people we work with than any other experience we have had. I would like to see us get out of that bag and to become--I don't know if this is the correct word--"non-professional"; I don't like those categories but I would like to see us get some different kinds of people taking responsibility for teacher education.

PAUL OLSON: Would you go back to spell out what you had in mind when you talked about the crisis of emotional growth?

JOAN GOLDSMITH: For many reasons adults have communicated to kids that they have been abandoned. Kids feel very unclear about generational boundaries, about limits of self. At the same time many parents feel their authority being undermined by professionals in the society and by other pressures in the society, by the inadequacy of their own training. Both the adults and the kids, I think, are in a state of panic. One of the results of that panic is a great deal of self-destruction that kids are carrying out on themselves--heavy use of drugs, increasing unwanted pregnancies, runaways and lost kids. We have to help adults get back in touch with themselves and begin to draw on their own strengths and their own instincts so they can relate to kids. Professionals have sold people a bill of good, told them that they don't know anything, that they cannot trust their instincts, that the traditional family patterns are not the models to be followed, that "Father Knows Best" on television is really the kind of model family, (but those myths are not working and people don't know where to turn). We have to

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[1] Joan Goldsmith is here suggesting that institutional change will not take place without concomitant changes in personality structure, etc. This modifies the Wax argument stated above (p. 60 ).

help them turn back on themselves and their own strengths.

WILLIAM HICKS: I am concerned about the fact that there are signs in the culture indicating that we need to change our way of preparing teachers. But for the most part we tend to ignore these signs. We are aware that they are out there, but because of the context in which we operate, we do very little about them. The matter of certification is a very prominent issue. I would like to see the time when our colleges and universities would have some autonomy in deciding who should be certified and that this certification process be based not on the amount of credits that students have accrued in certain areas, but on students demonstrating in an actual classroom setting that they have the ability to effect behavorial changes in students.

PAUL ORR: I seriously question what pre-service training for a teacher can, indeed, accomplish. We grossly over-estimate not only our own ability, but the ability of the person in a program, --whether it is three years or five years--to arrive at a point in time when he or she is "prepared to teach." I am not implying that I think we cannot do a far better job than we are doing. Yet I am not certain but that the focus might better be placed on attitudes and lifelong learning rather than on our emphasis on what do you need to know to work with a different culture or in a different situation. That knowledge is needed, but we do not get it to persons by a certain cutoff point.

A second premise that I seriously question is that "once a teacher, always a teacher; if never a teacher--by means of a pre-service program--never a teacher." When I look at teacher education, and undergraduate teacher education in particular, I can't keep from thinking we ought to be aiming for some kind of professional development plan, devised by an individual in consultation with the community - groups he is serving or working with and some professionals. We need to consider this kind of procedure rather than looking at certification and tenure. All of this applies not only in elementary and secondary, but also higher educational structures. Persons should demonstrate that they are continuing their education on a lifelong basis in order to be permitted to continue as teachers. I am fully aware that this massive involvement of people in a professional development plan places more and more responsibility on the local education agencies; the university or college role may well be in filling in some of the pieces as the plan develops.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: What I see when I look around is that there are pushes from various directions to really change the organization of education, and in particular the power organizations, the access that people have to each other. And it is coming from a lot of different places. On the other hand, more and more teachers are not being rehired because they are considered dangerous or are not teaching the right kind of American history or are too friendly with certain people in the community. I also see people holding on to certification requirements.

VITO PERRONE: One might argue that the cheapest way to change

American education would be to abolish all certification rules or laws. Such a move probably would change American education very radically. If Black communities, for instance, could hire teachers without any reference to certification, schools in the Black communities would undoubtedly change. Schools in the Indian communities in our own state certainly would change. Such a move would bring into education the most diverse populations we have ever seen. The power of Schools of Education,as well as that of State Departments of Education, would certainly decline.

The control of credentialling is interesting. Traditionally schools of education have had as much to say about credentialling as have state departments of public instruction. I am sure that in most states the teachers colleges have had a big part in writing the legislation. Now the teaching profession is proposing to take over the credentialling process. Would the teaching profession speak for the public interest? From my perspective, it is a private interest group and one not very broadly based. It does not represent the population nor is it culturally diverse.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: An alternative would be to have the community do the credentialling.

VITO PERRONE: Yes. I would not want to see us bypass that possibility.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Just a word of caution on this. There are some communities in the state in which I work (so it is said) where strange and wonderful things would happen in employment practices were there not some regulation and some expectation of training established by some mechanism other than the school board or the superintendent. Lots of first cousins and uncles and aunts would suddenly turn up in the classroom.

VITO PERRONE: It happens right now with the best of our certification systems. I learned when reading the certification legislation of the State of Massachusetts that by special dispensation, which apparently the legislature has always been quite free to pass, a variety of people have been certified to teach without meeting standard requirements.

GEORGE DENEMARK: I would like to make it as hard as possible to do that sort of thing rather than easier.

PAUL ORR: But certification in effect is really a compromise, isn't it? I don't think any of us think that certification produces in all cases a good teacher. We are just saying certification improves the chances, and we are assuming that programs are responsive to needs, and in all cases we know they are not.

VITO PERRONE: But it either opens or closes access to teaching.

DEAN CORRIGAN: My own analysis is that some of the state certification departments are more open and more flexible, more willing to

accept alternatives, than are the teachers associations or the unions. What we get is an exclusive stance being taken on the part of the teaching profession in relation to any alternative routes. In our own state the one teachers' association is very afraid of taking responsibility. They have been saying for years, "We want a piece of the action and to do some evaluation of who is admitted to the profession." But now they say the state education departments should continue to do it, because they don't trust the local superintendents to hire people that are qualified. They are afraid that in a tight budget situation the school system will hire somebody less qualified so that they can pay less. It's too bad because the only way teaching will become a profession is for educational associations to set performance standards and accept the responsibility for enforcing them.

VITO PERRONE: I want to see at least a dozen different rites of passage that are available for the end called "certification" and "credentialling."

PAUL OLSON: I am trying to distinguish between vested authority and real authority. I cannot believe that the schools would be under the sort of attack they are under if it was perceived that "teachers" had George Lopez' sort of authority in relationship to children, possessed real as opposed to vested authority. I don't deny that teachers may have some real skill; that there is some such legitimate role as a teacher's, that the Schools of Education and Liberal Arts or other agencies can endow people with sets of skills which would give them authority in relationship to children. But I want the authority to be the authority of real competence--not vested authority.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: Getting people having real authority into the schools is not simply an organizational question. As I indicated earlier there are pushes from various directions to really change the organization of education, and in particular the power organizations, the access that people have to each other. The pushes are coming from a lot of different places. I just wonder where we fit. I do not see myself in my professional role leading a community group to change a school. I don't know much about the Evanston situation, but I don't see myself acting in that way, assuming that I have power in a situation where I have only authority. I don't see myself as being able to move things around. I do see myself as a resource to people who are organizing their own learning experience and who want to think about what that experience is going to be like. I have had some experiences myself that have allowed me to grow. I have worked with other people in situations where we have grown. I can make some proposals.

I am thinking about the job I am in right now; when the students in a university say, "We want more students that do not have B. A.'s in our graduate program." I could see myself taking that demand to the Board of Trustees of the college and trying to work with them to meet that demand.

They may not. I do not see myself as a sole spokesman but I see myself in a kind of interpretation role.

I am just wondering if the role of this commission is in some way to be a bridge between the people that are moving the society toward a reorganization and the people who are trying to hold the line.

VITO PERRONE: I think one of the most beautiful things I have seen was in the Louisville Public Schools. I was in one junior high school organized around teams of teachers and self-contained groups of children. The team leader in one of the settings was a participant in the Career Opportunities Program. (He had accumulated twelve credits toward a college degree.) There were four other members of the team--all certified, degree holding teachers. Because the certified teachers recognized that the COP man related better with the youngsters , understood their needs and their problems, and had enormous organizational skills, they selected him to be the team leader, giving directions to the entire program. He was an enormously capable young fellow. He had real authority. I thought that was very good. I am sure that legally he should not have occupied that position. Legally he should not have been responsible for the classroom. Yet, in fact he was responsible.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: Your passion for this credentials issue, I suppose, has made me pay attention to it. I wasn't paying much attention to it until just now. But I think I see something you are driving at now. Not only are you saying that there is no relationship between credentialling systems that now exist and the ability to teach, and that therefore we ought radically to alter--or investigate the possibility of altering--credentialling systems so that we can correct that imbalance; you are also saying or implying, that a number of the problems of educational change would not come about if we abolished credentialling or changed the access routes drastically. That is if you change the people, the types of people who are in the profession, they will begin to change the system.

VITO PERRONE: I guess I am saying that it is--

JACOB CARRUTHERS: A strategy for change.

VITO PERRONE: Yes. Change would be more likely if we brought more diverse people into the field of education--people with different kinds of backgrounds and life experiences than exist currently. Again it is an issue of access. I think some of our credentialling systems serve to keep a lot of people out.

GEORGE DENEMARK: All of us are interested in enlarging the variety of persons with whom kids come in contact in the school situation but not in an absolute sense. I am not very interested in theirhaving more access to bitterly bigoted biased people. I am not interested in their having more contact with emotionally sick individuals. I want to minimize that diversity. It seems to me the question of how much diversity and what varieties is a very sophisticated and difficult question. I want the best, the

smartest, the most sensitive and committed people making those kinds of judgments. That is where the systematization of the thing comes about. We institutionalize a process so that we hopefully put people in control of each classroom who are most likely to be able to sense when they need somebody from out there and when they need to borrow somebody from this situation, when they go outside of this circle of credentialled people, when they employ this type and that type. That is the business of the real professional in education, not simply having within himself all of these myriad talents and abilities, but rather being able to perceive what kinds of things are necessary and to draw on those, and also to be able to perceive which are unhealthy in a situation, which should be minimized, redirected, or eliminated. We want diversity but within a framework of values which is supportive of individual fulfillment.

PAUL ORR: I would like, at the risk of trying to oversimplify something that is very complex, to respond to Paul's [Olson] question: What does a teacher know how to do that other people who are not trained as teachers do not know how to do? What is the real, as opposed to vested authority, which Higher Education gives to a teacher?

One of the things, that I think we do, in certain kinds of screening procedures, is to eliminate some people--many times by their own choice--who are not suitable for teaching or working with young people or people in general.

For an example of what schools are doing: we are in this thing with the University of Texas Center on Teacher Education Linkage; I have been amazed at some of the instruments we have been developing and testing. I am not saying they are good or will work for everyone or that they are even working for us. I do know, though, that within the last year, in a program that has roughly a thousand teacher education graduates, that we helped a lot of people discover for themselves through testing and other kinds of information, that they really disliked kids. Some found that they detested kids. I acknowledge a person's right to feel that way; I do not acknowledge his right to be a teacher if he feels that way. Maybe fifty to seventy-five kids, having available to them some information that they had not had before decided not to teach. We also found that many of the people preparing to teach had fairly severe psychological problems; they were in the College of Education more by accident than by anything else.

Secondly, we attempt, one way or another, to be certain that this teacher, by understanding both the diversity of education, and its function of gluing together diverse people, understands something of the unique nature of the development of education--its failures and it successes, its real uniqueness in American society in terms of mass education.

Third, the people whom we train have at least some understanding of how people learn; how to arrange information and data and its sequencing; how to evaluate themselves and their own effectiveness. They also gain some understanding of what is normal behavior and what is abnormal behavior at various stages of development. That is what they learn in psychology (at least, I hope that they do); hence they ought not to regard some normal

behavior as abnormal and take certain actions they should not take.

Fourth, people whom we train should possess some knowledge--they know math or English.

Finally, they have actually applied all of this knowledge in a clinical, an actual teaching situation, in which they have the opportunity to view themselves, for others to view them and work with them and try to help them modify their behavior.

I have oversimplified something that is very complex, but since you asked the question, I thought maybe we ought to have one direct response. Now, I would modify all of what I say by saying there certainly is no guarantee that other people may not intuitively or by observation come to possess these same kinds of things. But this system substantially increases the chances that the people who work with kids will be fairly effective.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: May I play devil's advocate? You suggested that teachers in Colleges of Education learn how children learn and about normal behavior. I would argue that that is not the case. The problem I am going to describe is not a problem limited to those institutions which train teachers and relate to education; the fields of psychiatric social work, clinical psychiatry, and clinical psychology are confronting the same problems. Part of the difficulty with the teacher who is "well-grounded" in psychology is that being well grounded may block the perception of human realities. Much of the psychology that he can study reflects, or is based on, work with a particular cultural group in this country. So unless we, or someone else, introduce changes in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and psychology, to give training would be compounding the imperception that exists now. The tragedy in the field of child development is that we have had our decades of substantial research, but when you search through the literature to find something on, say, the Mexican-American child with particular characteristics, you discover there is absolutely nothing. So the teacher can go through courses in human development and come out knowing very little that is applicable. He may know certain principles: say, the "reward-the-child-immediately" principle. That principle is pretty good but the problem has to do with an appropriate reward--it might be very good for the American middle class child to say, "Yes, that's very good;" but for a little Mexican-American kid in San Antonio, the appropriate reward not only has to be immediate, but it has to be more personalized: "I like the way you think." I do not mean to imply that teacher preparation should not include courses in psychology. I am simply saying that, at this stage, the psychologists are not equipped to provide the relevant kind of training or relevant course content.

VITO PERRONE: I want to ask you Paul [Orr] are you saying that the system you described is really producing well for us? I personally give a lot of credence to the critiques which argue that our educational system is indeed collapsing. I don't believe our processes are working.

PAUL ORR: I am not saying that I think the system has worked. I

do think that the system has worked better than no system would have worked I would much rather have the system that we have now than to have no system whatsoever that would permit the present power structure, in Alabama for instance, to determine who teaches. That would frighten me considerably. I think it is past the point that it should have changed.

However, many things which we do are valuable, and some things are changing. We are developing some courses in psychology that are valuable for teachers who wish to develop relationships with children; one course is being done primarily by Robert E. Bills, a perceptual psychologist; he is using an approach to perception of self and perception of others, by and large, which moves away the narrow behaviorism of much past educational psychology: the psychology of "How do you reward people, how do you punish people, when do you do it, and how do you do it." He is teaching in a way that begins to humanize people, causes them to be more empathic more open to experience. I think that such training in psychology is valuable for the education of teachers.

PAUL OLSON: We have been talking about some of the things that constitute the authority of a teacher, but it does not seem that much of the present organization of the education of teachers at the undergraduate level maximizes the possibility for their achieving "real" authority. How can we organize teacher education to do that?

LARRY FREEMAN: One of the difficulties with the credentailling system as presently constituted, is that credentials are granted upon completion of a degree; and the institution granting the degree is in effect granting the credentials. While there is a formal and legal distinction made, it is not made for practical purposes; and as long as that distinction is not made, the present kind of situation will continue.

I would like to propose exploration of the notion that the credentialling system be made in fact separate from the degree. Certification then may then have some relation to "real" authority. I would propose that the degree become simply a certification that a person has gone through a particular course of study. He may then be certified, or he may not be certified; and a person who has not gone through the degree route may or may not be certified, depending on whether he meets the criteria set forth in the credentialling process. The point I am trying to make is this: the credentialling problem ought to be viewed as separate from the problem of putting together a program for the preparation of teachers. Then one either says we can establish some meaningful criteria or we can't.

PAUL OLSON: Let me go to the question that perhaps follows up on what Larry said. I am not sure I exactly understand or agree with Larry's notion of a separation of the degree from the credentials; but given the position that has been taken here about rights of local communities to determine the style of education that their children shall receive, would you be willing to separate the degree from the credential and then separate both of those from the right of a local community to determine what people are going to be coming in contact with their children in the local school? By

local community I do not mean a Board of Education, but say, the parents in a local neighborhood school in Woodlawn or at the Pine Ridge.

ALFREDO CASTANEDA: As I interpret this, this is sometimes the fundamental issue; if you look at when explosions happen in communities, it is frequently over a teacher. They either want her or they do not want her. Recently in Chowchilla Valley there was a blow-up, and the Mexican-Americans demonstrated because the school was trying to get rid of a teacher. That teacher was not a Mexican-American. His name was Bill Smith. But the Mexican-American community liked him very, very much. In a sense, part of the issue to me is that the communities have the determination of what teachers they want, with whatever pattern of review or examination. If it were clearly understood by universities, that the localities were going to determine who is going to be teaching, then the notion of a universal curriculum in training would not be as prominent, and it would be more oriented to the different immediate local communities and constituencies. In the Colleges of Education the universalistic notion of the teachers is so prominent that rarely is the teacher seen as an individual in a given setting, where the local color, flair, demands, lifestyles, are going to be the more immediate pressing forces that present problems for the teacher.

VITO PERRONE: Right now most communities have little choice because universities prepare teachers pretty much in isolation. As long as they prepare teachers in isolation from communities, they are not going to address the kinds of questions that communities are raising about the kinds of people they want, about the style of education they want. To respond well to the different interests of diverse communities calls for alternative programs of teacher education, diverse routes for certification.

WILLIAM HICKS: It appears to me that in-service training should be geared to community needs in so far as developing competencies that are needed in particular communities. But a College of Education or a teacher training institution has a responsibility for, in addition to doing all of the other things that it is supposed to do, developing an education stance in people or in students, so that they will be amenable to change when they move into situations where change is necessary. I would be very, very strongly against the idea of local school systems certifying teachers. If this were to happen, black teachers in my community would have no legal basis to fight for themselves, because, as I indicated earlier, they are now being displaced.

PAUL OLSON: We are perhaps lumping together three different stamps of approval which could be placed on people.

One could say that he has been through a training program. He may go through a training program and not be trained, and it could be the best training program in the world. I do not subscribe to the notion that any training program is going to be a hundred per cent successful; a teacher may go through a training program and not be skilled.

Second, a person might be credentialled, perhaps because he can

teach, say teach someone how to read Lakota; because perhaps he really grooves with street kids who are about to drop out in the Woodlawn area. He has identifiable skills.

Third, you could have both of those things--education and skills--but the parents might say, "We don't want that guy." Parents might very well say that "So and so is a racist," and "We don't want him in the school; we just don't like him--we don't know why."

PAUL ORR: Let me make one statement that I think probably should be investigated because I don't have all the information on it. But it seems to me when we talk about certificates and credentials that, in effect, we are in most states talking about financial support from the state to the local education agency more than we are about a certificate. I know of very few places where, if you wanted to use a person who knows Sioux, the Sioux culture, that you could not get some kind of credential--you could in Alabama for example--for that person to teach in the school. The reason that people do not do that, the reason local education agencies do not like that, is that with that type of certificate--it probably would be the lowest type of certificate--the local education agency would only get about half as much money for thatperson as they would get for a person who had a higher level of certificate. I wonder, then, are we really talking in all cases about certificates, or are we talking about the provisions within minimum foundation programs that provide financial support to LEA's? The problem is not being legally permitted to teach. It is that the minimum foundation program is designed in such a way that the LEA doesn't get very much for that person.

VITO PERRONE: I have a problem with some of the ways you have phrased a couple of points, Paul [Olson]. You have put the hypothetical case of a community wanting a racist as a teacher. Are you suggesting that institutions have a responsibility to produce racists in order to satisfy the needs of a community?

PAUL OLSON: Well, they are doing it.

VITO PERRONE: They are doing it in spite of our best intentions, yes.

PAUL OLSON: I think that they maybe are doing it be cause of our 'best intentions'.

PAUL ORR: I would question one point; that institutions are presently producing teachers who are racists. One of the most dramatic changes that has occurred in American higher education in the last decade is that the teacher education programs in the Southeast are no longer racist. Persons who have gone through them would--in my opinion--subscribe

pretty strongly to elimination of dual school systems and racial segregation. Ten years ago, most of the teachers probably were "racists", but I have worked with hundreds of these kids, and I think they are substantially different, in terms of attitudes about race, than they were.

DEAN CORRIGAN: Would you agree with that, Mr. Hicks?

WILLIAM HICKS: I have some reservations. I indicated earlier today that simply placing kids under one roof does not resolve their problems--not all of their problems. We have integration because the courts ruled that we have it and not because somebody volunteered. Some of the same attitudes that prevailed before--many of those attitudes that prevailed before the courts decided--still prevail today. In most of the schools I know about, efforts are made simply to present a show of compliance. Kids are still segregated within the schools. Now, there may be some changes, but they are not too visible as far as I have been able to see.

PAUL ORR: Isn't that more a result of the state and the local board of education and the administrative group than it is the recent product of teacher education program?

WILLIAM HICKS: I don't think so.

PAUL OLSON: It seems to me what I mean by racism is perhaps not what you mean, Paul [Orr]. If you have an institution that has no minority people on its staff or in positions of dignity; if an institution approves of learning Castilian, but not Tex-Mex; if an institution assumes that Chicano students have something to learn from a white professor, but a white professor does not have anything to learn from Chicano students--I would accuse such a university or college of ethnocentrism, if not racism. The notion of what constitutes cultural diversity in most institutions of higher education is much like the cosmopolitanism of the Ivy League around 1920. It involved learning certain forms of classical French culture, perhaps learning a bit about Russian culture, learning a bit about living in London. But this cosmopolitanism was almost never sought so as to develop a student's capacity to move in, e.g., the gestural schema or to participate even imaginatively in the feeling about the world of traditionally oppressed cultures, whether Black, Chicano, African, or Asian.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: One way to respond to that problem is by opening up a variety of paths to certification which would perhaps diversify the educational structures. But what then is the process all about, if we set up a variety of paths and provide open access to the schools to a range of people in the schools?

PAUL OLSON: Let me go back to Alfredo Castaneda's point that education can intensify misperception; it is inconceivable to me that any uneducated person, say a Turkish peasant, would find that 25 per cent of the Chicano kids in California are mentally retarded or that 30 per cent of the children in Gallup, New Mexico, had minimal brain damage. It takes a specialist to find out that kind of nonsense. Much of what we give people seems to get in the way of their perceiving rather than helping them perceive what is going on.

# A Proposal For a Commission on the Licensing of Teachers*

by

Denis Doyle

## INTRODUCTION

Teacher education and licensing[1] is clearly and urgently in need of reform. Agreement on this point is so widespread it needs no defense. Deans of education, superintendents of school districts, spokesmen for professional associations, editorial writers, crusaders, laymen and legislators clamor for change. Critics within and without the education establishment agree on the need for change. The problem is to connect the impulse to reform and the instrumentality to achieve it. The first and most distressing fact is that teacher licensing is at once the most important and least interesting area in education. It is troublesome, awkward, and often offensive; but its end result affects the whole of education. Whoever is included under its umbrella, and whoever is excluded, has the most profound effect on education. Today the most ordinary people find entry into teaching a remarkably easy process; a catalogue of prescribed courses, and practice-teaching lead to certification. Anyone who can suffer such a process with equanimity can become a teacher. On the other hand, many capable people -- even people of modest intellectual ambition -- find the road to certification appalling if not unbearable. Admittedly, most certification schemes discourage the most notably deficient; but the most impatient and intelligent are also systemically excluded. It is a system designed to include the mean and exclude the extreme.

Many capable, imaginative young people do not make career decisions at 18. Because of the failure of most systems of licensing to provide for various kinds and styles of preparation, docility, passivity, and mediocrity have been rewarded. The individual who knows during freshman orientation week that he wants to be a teacher will find a place in the classroom. There is a straight linear progression which has little bearing on the candidate's intellectual and mental fitnesses for teaching. Not only

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[1] In referring to the licensing and education of teachers, I mean to include all other educational personnel. It is simply too awkward to repeatedly say "teachers, supervisors, administrators, etc."

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individuals have been excluded; innovative school districts and imaginative schools of education have been penalized because licensing and teacher education are two sides of the same coin. The great majority of teachers will pursue the course of study which is required for state licensure. State law dominates the content and length of the prospective teacher's course of study. There are exceptions, of course -- schools with prestige can devise a teacher preparation curriculum which not only leads to licensure, but also meets other objectives. Similarly, schools which control a portion of the market -- by virtue of geographic and demographic accident, for example -- may develop courses of study which vary substantially from state requirements. But fundamentally, for the great majority of new teachers, state law is the determining factor. The dominance of statute and regulation is inherent in the licensing function. A license is simply permission to do something otherwise prohibited. The licensing process de-selects the grossly incompetent, it does not select excellent teachers. Good teachers must come forward of their own volition. A second problem is that the "education and licensing of teachers" is a subject which does not elicit broadly based sustained critical attention. Although theoretically, no subject should be more compelling or of more interest, it has been difficult, even impossible, to attract good minds from a variety of disciplines to the subject on more than an occasional basis. This is due in part to cynicism about solving the problems of public education, but it is also due to an unhappy division between educators and non-educators. Reformers working from within find it difficult to enlist support from the public, and the popular critics with a public following find it difficult to enlist the support of professionals. In these situations, everyone loses. Legislators, for example, typically view reform proposals from educators as being self-serving. And often they are right. Similarly, the profession views the cry for reform from non-educators as an infringement upon terrain properly held by experts. And often they are right.

Public education is both the province of layman and expert, client and provider, politician and professional. It is, above all, political. So long as public monies and compulsory attendance, in addition to economic and social necessity, characterize public education, disputation will be a part of it. This can be healthy and productive so long as they are institutional arrangements to focus and resolve such problems. Left to the vagaries of educational fashion, however, an adversary relationship between the public and the profession is certain to be counter-production.

## LICENSING CHANGE - ROUND ONE

The impact of Sputnik on education in California is a case in point. The dramatic and remarkable accomplishment of the Russians fueled public discontent. Since the Russian's had launched a space satellite first, American emphasis on science, the Three R's, and a more traditional academic course of study obviously had been inadequate. The result was

the Fisher Bill, legislation designed to require all prospective school personnel to be trained in "academic" disciplines, and to emphasize knowledge of what is taught rather than how it is taught.

The pendulum-swing was too hard and too fast. Professionals resisted literal implementation successfully, and since 1961 when the legislation was enacted only a dozen Fisher Bill superintendency-level credentials have been issued. Each year grandfather bills are passed, and only a fraction of the state's teachers have been licensed under its provisions. The bill was successful in several, more general ways, however. It firmly cemented the verbal commitment of the public and the profession to several basic elements of teacher preparation: all teachers should have five years of higher education; with the exception of elementary teachers, they should major in their teaching field; and education majors for undergraduates should not be offered or approved.

The effects of this have been substantial, but the Fisher Bill in 1970 was repealed outright. And it was repealed primarily because it became so entangled in a web of red tape, contradictory interpretations, confusion, delays, and expense that it was collapsing of its own weight.

A few figures are illustrative:

> A credential workload increased approximately 14% between 1961 and 1970 but department staff increased from 88 to 204; in the same time period, costs increased from $800,000 per year to $2.4 million per year; the cost to the applicant increased from $8 to $20; the waiting period for a credential, from application to issuance, was often as long as six months.

## LICENSING CHANGE - ROUND TWO

Upon release of a comprehensive management report on the Fisher Bill indicating that it had become an administrative nightmare, the legislature created a joint committee to investigate and make recommendations. The joint committee decision was direct. Rather than adjust and tinker with the Fisher Bill, it proposed its outright repeal. In its place, the joint committee recommended the creation of a broadly-based 15-member teacher licensing commission to oversee and coordinate all phases of teacher education and licensing. The joint committee staff and members, and finally the legislature, the Governor's Educational Reform Commission and the Governor were convinced that it was essential to establish a new mechanism for teacher licensing, one that would reflect public interest.

The reason is that teacher licensing -- and often teacher education -- has traditionally been viewed as a technical and management problem, not worth sustained critical attention. Conant, for example, never mixes theory and the mundane world of discrete standards and procedures.

Reformist movements have usually occurred in fits and starts, outstanding programs of teacher education have been hampered by low visibility and bureaucratic frustration; and a vicious circle of mediocrity has become self-reinforcing. This is true because in bureaucracy, more than in any other form of social organization, the medium is the message. Rules, regulations, standards assume lives of their own -- instead of serving higher or more elevated purposes, they become their own raison d'etre.

## NATIONAL COMMISSION

I propose a balanced distinguished national commission that will examine teacher licensing and education systematically and critically; if such a commission is put together real progress can be made. But the commission must have a willingness and an ability to deal with the routine and detail which is a necessary part of any organization.

In my view, a "public interest" forum will not be enough. Results must flow from such a commission if it is to be worthwhile. There will be no profit in issuing reports, however, thoughtful, that simply collect dust. The prosaic processes of licensure must be examined and reforms implemented if any large scale changes in teacher education are to take place. This leads to the central paradox of reform which we encountered in California and are certain to encounter in any venture. When reform is really needed, it is a sign of institutional rigidity. The institution itself is beyond self-regeneration. Yet forced superimposed change is usually more apparent than real, even if promulgated by revolutionary edict. California's Fisher Bill is a case in point. The same faces remain, but their psychological and professional outlook moves from mediocrity to obstructionism. Conversely, reform which is internally generated, has a much higher likelihood of success, but it is not likely to appear.

The paradox is frustratingly simple. The desire and will to reform is usually external, the ability to reform is usually internal, and the two impulses are usually in opposition. Yet the idea of a national commission is based upon the twin assumption that the education of teachers needs reform, and that such reform can be accomplished. The means to accomplish this reform is our subject.

It is clear that a national commission on teacher education and licensing is feasible. Whether or not it is desireable hinges upon the probability of effecting change. We need more than a commission that gets things done; we need a commission that gets the right things done.

## LICENSING

The extent and manner in which licensure affects teacher education must be more fully explored, but it is clear that the two are opposite sides of the same coin; for instance, in California at least 75% of newly certified teachers from in-state have followed preparation programs closely modeled

on the state certification laws. The exceptions are students in institutions which have programs of preparation which while they interlock with certification laws, require more rather than different courses. In any case, the typical student's course of study is heavily, if not completely, dominated by certification laws. Accordingly, if state law requires all prospective elementary teachers to take a three-unit course in the theory and practice of the real number system, they will. However, if the state requires that they take only nine-units of professional education courses, most will in fact take 27 units -- at least if the school of education has anything to say about it. The conclusion is inescapable -- licensing laws operate negatively and not positively. Whether or not this is inevitable is unknown, but it has certainly been the case historically.

A telling example is the experimental and innovative credential programs authorized by the California Code. Responding to bitter criticism -- that the Fisher Bill was a hopeless bureaucratic tangle that frustrated progress and change -- legislation was enacted that permitted universities and colleges to design alternate programs leading to a credential without reference to the Fisher Bill. The only statutory requirement was that the State Board of Education declare the program to have educational merit. In five years, except in the field of special education, no public institution proposed an innovative program.

The example is instructive because it indicates that permissive or innovative licensing devices may not operate as enough of an incentive to create different and interesting programs of teacher education.

Whether or not the reform of teacher licensing in individual states will bring about the reform of teacher education is unknown. The national commission, however, could be an important force for change. Licensing, if it is to make any sense at all, must relate to the objectives of the schools and the effectiveness with which these objectives are to be realized. No longer, for example, do people seriously propose that all prospective teachers study Latin; yet many reasonable people would propose that all prospective teachers take at least one semester of reading instruction course work. This was recently done in California.

The irony, of course, is that secondary teachers should not need to know how to teach reading because all secondary students should be be reading adequately by the time they reach high school. But to require all teachers to know how to teach reading is to admit that elementary education has failed large numbers of students. Practical and realistic decisions of this kind must be made, but inherent in them is the danger of freezing ad hoc requirements into law or regulation. When reading deficiencies are epidemic every teacher the child comes in contact with should be able to handle, in some measure, "the reading problem". So long as schools continue to shuffle children along who cannot read, rather than teaching them to read, then there is a clear need for all teachers to have minimal skills in reading instruction.

Certification is clearly one of the least desirable and most awkward places to tackle the reading problem, but it must nevertheless be done. Leverage must be applied wherever it will work. But if and when student characteristics change -- if the "reading improvement through certification technique" works -- then the reading requirement for secondary teachers should be dropped. We should be able to say at some time that "It was a temporary expedient that worked." The facts of life of most social organizations, and particularly entry requirements to associations, guilds, and professional groups are quite different however. Once something is decided it remains fixed. What is clearly needed is a system which regenerates itself, which is self-correcting; a feedback loop must be institutionalized.

College entry exams, for example, have created a life of their own. That they predict success in college, that they "work" in a limited sense is well known; but whether or not their effectiveness is of real value is something else again. This is most notably true in the case of closed, monopolistic systems, and even more exaggerated when there is no visible product to measure. It is apparent true reform of teacher education and licensing will have to address both the process and the product.

## CREDIBILITY

The commission must establish credibility at an early date, and the best way to do this is to attach and solve real problems with dispatch. If the commission, in cooperation with a state legislature, a state department of education, or local schools and colleges, could propose specific detailed licensing reforms, and get those reforms enacted, it could perform a much needed public function. At this point in time, a commission which merely writes reports, delivers pronouncements and generally "fluffs its feathers," is unnecessary and undesirable.

The traditional view of licensing has been to keep the unqualified out--this may have been necessary, and was certainly appropriate in an economy of scarcity. It should no longer dominate licensing. We must move to a system of licensing which attracts, expedites, and encourages the most able. The commission should not make promises it cannot deliver on, and must avoid the inflated rhetoric of press releases. If the commission is effective, there will be ample post hoc fanfare; if it is not effective, the less said the better.

The two most important questions are: What is the mission of the national commission to be and how is it to accomplish it? All the other questions may be simply and logically answered once the first are disposed of. Name, location, size, membership, appointive power, funding, staffing, life span all basically hinge on the answers to the first two questions.

I believe that the primary mission must be the improvement of teacher education, but functionally the point of departure should be teacher licensing. The reform of licensing will give the commission a direct,

highly visible focus. There is a great interest in this nationally, and a prestigious commission could offer real leadership. It could and should act in a resource and technical assistance capacity. Establishing linkages with a state legislature, a state department of education and professional associations could lead to real change in the near future.

There are two particular areas in which the commission could move quickly and effectively: early childhood education, and the licensure of paraprofessionals. There is already a strong push in many states to license both early childhood teachers and paraprofessionals, but the die is not yet cast. For example, in California the early childhood lobby is pushing actively for a master's degree in early childhood education as the minimum level of preparation for a license. They may succeed in establishing a guild unless the public interest is forcefully expressed; there is presently no national forum or resource available to address this issue. The same situation obtains in regard to paraprofessionals. The problem is urgent because of the heavy pressure to substantially expand child care facilities throughout the country. The national commission could exert real leadership in this area.

## TYPES OF COMMISSIONS

If the commission is to push for major, practical reforms, to be established in the foreseeable future, it will have to successfully involve established educationalists. While the members of the commission should first be distinguished individuals interested in education, the AFT, NEA and PTA should be involved in some active way.

Daniel Bell, in the Spring 1966 issue of the Public Interest, identified five different types of government commissions. His schematic also applies to non-governmental, but nevertheless, public commissions. They are (1) advisory, (2) evaluative, (3) fact-finding, (4) public relations, and (5) policy recommendation. For our purposes these can be more conventionally grouped under three broad headings, in linear sequence: (1) fact-finding and evaluation, (2) public relations, and (3) advisory and policy recommendations.

Although these distinctions are useful, they cannot be maintained with precision. I believe that the national commission on teacher education should combine all three functions. To a certain extent this is inherent to the idea of a national commission. If it is created, we implicitly recognize that many of the most important facts are already "found." We know, for instance, that teacher education and licensing is seriously in need of reform or there would be no reason to establish a reform commission. Even though no serious commentator is likely to propose -- at least in public -- that education in America is in any way adequate, it will be necessary, of course, to "find" certain facts. But whether or not American public education is inadequate in some objective sense is not a question likely to be asked; the conventional wisdom is self-fulfilling and the image of inadequacy has presently captured the public imagination.

The effect of this is twofold for the planning committee; because of pervasive and articulate dissatisfaction with education, a national reform commission is likely to be applauded and accepted by intellectuals, reformers, and the public-at-large. This idea's time has come. At the same time, members of professional associations, unions, bureaucracies, and many school systems are likely to be particularly defensive and difficult to work with.

There are several ways in which a national commission can respond to this:

1. It can rely largely on its prestige, its powers of persuasion, and the massive backlog of public discontent to run rings around the establishment. While this offers interesting dramatic possibilities, it is likely to be of limited effectiveness.

2. It can submerge itself in the establishment and attempt, by this device, to reach a real consensus which will reform teacher education. This is unlikely to say the least; reaching the lowest common denominator is a rather more likely result.

3. It can mix laymen, academics and *professionals to create* a demand for and machinery for simultaneous internal and external reform.

If we are able to do the latter, and gain the respect if not goodwill of legislators, state boards and departments, and bureaucrats, it will be possible to change licensing for the better. Additional questions will then arise. If universities do not respond to any opportunities they may enjoy under the terms of a changed licensing system, it may be necessary to propose that innovative programs be funded on a short term basis. This is necessarily a costly route, and I believe it should not be pursued until the route of change through licensing is fully explored. But it may be the only way to bring about lasting change.

Finally, I should mention some of my own views about teacher education and licensing. I think there is a real and usually ignored distinction between licensing and employment. Licensing cannot be all things to education. I do not believe for instance that the move toward performance measurement, to identify what a teacher does and how well he does it, will work in the near future. Conceptually, the idea is attractive. It has the virtues of simplicity and directness. It hinges, however, on two unknowns -- what is good education and how does it take piace. I do not think that these ideas can be handled at the state level. Both objectives and methods must be clearly defined and defensible for performance measurement to work. In the absence of this, students will be treated as things which is both cruel and senseless. I think it is unfortunate for licensing that education in its fullest sense is not yet susceptible to performance measurement. But it is difficult enough to assess the effectiveness with which certain basic skills are communicated. And it is doubtful that such assessment should relate to licensing; performance of necessity must relate to employment. Education in this sense will continue to be fluid and fortuitous.

It is equally futile to think of teacher education in relation to the goals and purposes of education as a whole except in the most general sense. This is simply not possible on a grand scale. Interlocking a study of teacher education, educational goals and objectives and the machinery and processes of licensure would not work. It would collapse of its own weight.

An examination of teacher licensing and education must of necessity begin with a background of shared conceptions and attitudes about public education.

I recommended to the California legislature that a new mechanism for solving educational problems be created. I am recommending much the same thing to you. The mechanism in California was designed to incorporate change and reflect new and effective ideas.

Many of the romanticcritics of education argue forcefully and persuasively for a freer more flexible school, a student-centered place where children learn rather than where teachers "teach," a return to an unspoiled world. Although much of the criticism is true, it would be a grievous error to assume that our present educational failures are the result of inherently defective social machinery. Rather, I think the failures we encounter today are the result of process and produce becoming synonomous, in which the system becomes its own raison d'etre. Moreover, because change and novelty themselves release energy, a new system may work because it is new, not because it is better. I also think that one of the basic facts about teaching and learning is that we don't really know much about systematically teaching the kinds of abilities, skills, and ideas which are central to good teaching. Most of what a good teacher knows about teaching has been self-taught. Accordingly, there is little to build on in the way of specifics, courses, units and classes in structuring a system of licensing that works for large numbers of people. It would be far better to tailor each teacher's training to his own needs and abilities. It would be convenient if a correlation existed between a prospective teacher's verbal ability as measured on a standardized examination and the ability of his students to learn to read or repair automobiles; but such is not the case.

I think that the absence of such predictive indicators does not require the abandonment of all standards. It requires a different approach to licensure. I believe that the appropriate course is to devise a "process" for certification, a way of continuously solving problems that will be self-regulating and self-balancing. The fact that rules do shape, even control results, increases the validity of the proposal. Thus, a teacher licensing commission with a balanced membership will produce rather different results than one representing a certain interest group.

In the absence of concrete and known ways to guarantee "quality" through a list of standards and requirements, a means for continuously assessing teacher education must be developed.

Styles of reform are as different as the reformers:

> Romantics simply call for an end to licensing.
>
> Professional associations ask for -- or demand -- the right to license themselves.
>
> Schools of education ask that the state delegate the licensing function to the school of education through the device of the approved program.
>
> The USOE is calling for "performance standards" and has given the Texan Education Agency a $700,000 grant.
>
> School boards ask for state "guidelines" with "maximum freedom" -- in many instances to simplify recruiting and lower costs.

The reason for so many different views is not pure unenlightened self interest; the reason is that we cannot say with certainty what is good education, or identify with precision good teachers, or prescribe with real confidence a comprehensive curriculum for all students. These things do not exist in fixed or ideal form. They appear in context, and they change as the participants, objectives and society changes. In a word, education is a process, and solutions to educational problems are necessarily provisional. A national commission which reflects and embodies change, will itself be a forum and catalyst in the process of educational problem solving.

## VII. CLINICAL SCHOOLS AND PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION: PROTECTING FREEDOM AND INNOVATION IN THE SCHOOL

The group discusses the management problem of introducing innovation to the school system and maintaining those innovations once they have been accepted.

Haberman attacks many of the assumptions associated with reform in education stressing the need for cooperation between lower school and college level education.

## VII. Clinical Schools and Pre-Service Education: Protecting Freedom and Innovation in the School

DEAN CORRIGAN: Suppose it were possible to prepare people with the required and desired knowledge and skills and provide a clinical setting where they test them out. But then they go into a system where they can't use their knowledge and skills. Though they have certain values and feelings as a teacher, the system that exists is completely different than what they have been prepared supposedly to deal with. Any teacher who has developed a concern for self-understanding and concern about kids who is placed in a classroom with forty-one kids, with no materials, and no opportunity to try new things, rebels at all of this and says, "That is all very hollow." That teacher will either stay there and become dehumanized by the process and live the hypocrisy day after day, or he will quit; or he will do what he can within that context. That is why I have asserted that changes in schools must be secured at the same time changes are sought in teacher education. It is one system, not two.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: In the area where I work, Massachusetts, there is an interesting phenomenon occurring: there are a couple of school systems that are changing themselves and opening up their systems. They are having an impact both on teacher education and on the more rigid, the more closed, systems. My point is not that the schools are, by themselves, going to do the job; it is that pressures for significant, desirable change are being created in specific areas by a variety of groups, schools, colleges of education, communities. To fail to recognize that is, I think, short-sighted.

PAUL OLSON: However, if the schools take over teacher education entirely, you simply add a drudge factor of the schools to the limited vision of people in Higher Education; if you consider how little time people who are in the schools get to themselves to do research, to study and to grow, you may well get the narrowest form of technocratic education if the schools which we presently have take over the education of teachers, given the pressures which they are presently under.

JOAN GOLDSMITH: I agree.

GEORGE DENEMARK: The disturbing factor is that teachers and sometimes school administrators seem to be more a part of the problem than of the solution. However, Colleges of Education have few hours in which to provide the pedagogical training for teachers--twelve hours of professional education for secondary teachers in my school. Were the public schools to take over responsibility for those twelve hours they might do little better and possibly much worse for they often operate under tremendous conformist pressures.

Not long ago I spent several months in negotiations with a school system regarding a contract for the placement and supervision of student

teachers. These negotiations were complicated by the fact that one of our students had during the previous year been refused placement in a student teaching assignment as a result of negative judgments regarding him made by school personnel. Inadequate communication on the matter led to the student's retention of an attorney and to a lengthy series of discussions. At least in part as a consequence of this difficulty a more stringent contract was developed for this year which provides that the school system has the right to refuse admission to or dismiss persons from the student teaching program without specifiying reasons. I have taken time to relate this experience because it lays open to question the notion that more open-ended, flexible teacher education would result from the transfer of more responsibility for training programs to school systems. Indeed, I believe that in many instances long hair, sandals, and other departures from norms of dress and grooming are likely to be viewed more seriously by school administrators and school boards than by college teacher educators. It is possible that precisely because of the greater detachment from local community pressures afforded colleges than is the case with school systems we should see retention of teacher preparation in the colleges as a key element in support of fundamental freedom and flexibility rather than as an obstacle to it.

VITO PERRONE: I have yet to have a parent in any of the districts in which we work look upon the long hair of young men in our program as the critical issue. On the other hand, that has not been the case with several school superintendents and principals. They are "certain" that parents will object. We have always made it a point to bring parents in touch with teachers very quickly to share educational views to discuss the parents children to get beyond hair and dress style.

PAUL OLSON: The reason that the school administrator's view is narrow is that they have a consensus conception of the way in which you head off criticism; you do not try to get a majority behind you; you try to get everybody behind you. You only accept those life styles which are acceptable also to the most conservative elements in the community. What they have not recognized is that they are losing the enthusiasm of many community elements. There is some possibility that we could look to what kinds of

formats would permit higher education, the schools, and the community to create clinical schools which would protect the intellectual and personal freedom of the students.

GEORGE DENEMARK: Teacher education departments and colleges play a schizophrenic role. It seems to me that we are in a very difficult and demanding middle ground, in a liaison position, between school systems on the one hand and our colleagues in higher education, on the other. It is a very difficult and frustrating role and we simply have to be able (and, I suppose, will continue) to live with some of the ambiguity of that role; we would like to try, however, to minimize its debilitating effects. We are all familiar for instance, with the tendency for our colleagues in higher education to put on us conventional expectations regarding research productivity and appropriate "scholarly" activities, at the expense of, perhaps, advising students and field service. While our colleagues in higher education make these demands, our colleagues in the public school are saying, "For God's sake, why don't you come help us with them, rather than counting heads and engaging in remote detached scholarly activities that are away from the world of reality?" There we are, between those significant forces: we can get shot at from both sides on this, unless we can create some kind of bridge or adjustment between those different points of view.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: Another aspect of it, of course, is the sort of dilemmas we experience when we take a particular program that is supposed to cut and crash through orthodoxy and really get down to where it's at. I am thinking particularly of a program we have at our center called COP, Career Opportunities. This program crashes through, and we get all excited and say, "Oh, this is it. We can bring these young mothers and young fathers into the education thing and the community can begin to participate in the education of its own children." Then we start dealing with COP, and that is really something else--when you start dealing with the fact that they did not get their checks yesterday because the list wasn't filled out right and the fact that they are not going to pay them for transportation because they didn't have this form filled out correctly, and all that kind of stuff, you know.

Those people who had started hoping that maybe this was a chance just say, "To hell with it." Then we start wondering what all of these grand ideas that we read in the proposals really meant. Did they really mean to help these people? The thing in general smacks of a welfare atmosphere. Somebody comes down with a big, strong box, lines them up and calls out names, "Here is your check, here is yours, here is yours. Did you spend five hours every day? Were you in the library on such and such a day?" I think we really ought to study that, because if we are going to make proposals and then have them translated out into jive like that, maybe we ought to stop making suggestions to people who are in a position to move things.

PAUL OLSON: It seems to me that COP program can have an effect on an individual school, but in Nebraska it has not effected much change in

Higher Education. I know of one place in Nebraska where Indian people who have never been in a school before are coming into school and spending all day in school. If the kids are being beaten, some people from the community are going to be around and watch somebody beating somebody up. They will go home and tell the tribal council, and the tribal council can stop that kind of stuff. But I know of no institution of higher education in Nebraska (I do not mean to speak for institutions represented here) where the COP program has had a great deal of influence. The people who teach the courses are often people who want to moonlight since they aren't getting a high enough salary at the thing they are doing; they do a little extra work and decide on the COP thing. The curriculum is frequently hastily prepared. To expect that ADC mothers, who are not organized into a political group, are somehow going to change higher education is expecting an awful lot. Things may change though.

DEAN CORRIGAN: In our state, COP has not affected the universities a hell of a lot; but it has forced the local communities, the school boards, and the power people in those communities to confront people they never confronted before. The next phase of COP will confront the university because students in the two year programs will demand opportunities for continuing education. Universities, especially state universities, will have to be more flexible, not only in their offerings, but in creating new locations, where learning can take place. The "open university" could get a boost from COP.

VITO PERRONE: I don't think we ought to beat COP so hard.

PAUL OLSON: I am not. I just used this as an illustration. I take it that is what you were doing.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: Yes.

VITO PERRONE: To see COP as the agency that is going to transform American education at the college and university level is not even realistic. I am very deeply involved in COP and see it as a mechanism to provide Indian men and women in the State of North Dakota an opportunity to pursue baccalaureate degrees. Participants will graduate in four years and they are guaranteed jobs in schools. The program is raising the consciousness level of Indians and non-Indians about the potential of Indian control of education in Indian communities. This could have been done under a number of other agencies; COP did not have to be the agency. It was being done, in fact, under TTT and could have been carried out very effectively and was. The goals are simple and worth pursuing.

JACOB CARRUTHERS: I used COP as an example for something that I called turning everything into the same thing. I did not figure you could understand that so well without my going through a whole lot of examples. But Model Cities is the same thing.

PAUL OLSON: One of the other things that we need is some data on management, on the whole question of how the education of teachers is managed in this country, from legislatures through board of regents through colleges of education; how personnel are allocated, how budgets are allocated,

the various alternative management procedures, and what might be effective. This would be meaningful in terms of some kind of effort to tease out misfittages between what we said we are trying to do and the management practices that we adopt

PAUL ORR: When we make certain kinds of decisions in higher education about program changes that are needed--and I think everyone agrees that we need some rather drastic restructuring of the preparation of teachers--there is a lot of misinformation or lack of information about how to proceed, e.g., the exact nature of the change and equally important, how to use budgeting and other institutional structures as means of securing this change. We are, I think, at a point now where at least we are beginning to agree on what programs ought to look like and who ought to be involved--parents, schools, and various components within a university. I foresee, some kind of marriage occurring, at least at a conceptual level, among these groups. But to make it a good marriage, one that will survive, we need budgets to support it, budgets supporting program components rather than line item or departmental budgets.

I have worked with a group that put together a program that we call educational planning--a multi-disciplinary program involving economic planning, government planning, etc. To accomplish this, we worked, fairly successfully with BESE; we aided in designing for them a functional organization, one that replaced their present bureaucratic organization. The functional organization is strictly based on what they say they are trying to accomplish, and the type of programs that they are trying to operate, manage, and make an assessment of.

Someone could make a great contribution if he worked at the problem of translating conceptions of programs into actuality, if he designed a strategy to bring about the change and addressed questions having to do with how you finance this program in such a way that these program changes do indeed occur. Because this question has not been addressed seriously, or at least not successfully, the good things that happen because of "soft" money last no longer than two or three years. It has been too easy to operate something "on the outside" as a separate component, without creating intimate relationships with what is institutionalized. In general, government and institutions know little about their own management. They have very little retrievable information when they need it to make a decision so they can influence a program by making, say, budget decisions. It is terribly difficult to reorganize resources once you have made a commitment partly because budgets have not been constructed on the basis of programs so that then rapid changes can be made, as rapidly as program needs occur or are identified. For instance, all of us have seen situations in higher education, local education, and in federal government, in which they have gotten locked into a particular program and cannot get out of it without taking forever. If you decide you want fifteen professors of Greek Literature and you fund and fill fifteen positions in Greek Literature, it takes, under present budgetary arrangements, about two generations before you can make

much of a change. If, however, we had a different budgetary arrangement and funded programs we could make those changes more quickly and give professors more flexibility.

Again, for example, most Colleges of Education at the present time are putting tens of thousands of dollars into public schools to pay cooperating teachers and subsidize salaries of principals so better learning experiences are available. But if we needed to, we could not immediately allocate the resources to create a different format; it would take, under a traditional budget--even if everyone agreed that that is what we ought to do--about two years to make the budgetary changes necessary to get proper support. For the first time, we have the technical capacity to be able to establish a planning process that enables one to handle the variablesthat at present continually create trouble. We can make better decisions if only because we can get information at the right time about the right thing.

GEORGE DENEMARK: As Paul Orr suggested, the amount of money expended by colleges of education for supporting the activity of public schools is considerable; in our case it amounts to something like a hundred thousand a year for honoraria for supervising teachers, principals and so on. On the other hand, it is grossly inadequate for the important job that we ask them to undertake. We are wasting money, I think, on the university supervisory personnel that might more appropriately be expended on expanding the use and function of public school personnel, to buy a quarter or half of their time, to create a situation in which outstanding people can maintain their relationship to classroom and instruction and maintain a relationship, and become in fact a member of the college faculty.

It is not popular to say this in some circles: some segments of the school of education faculty are unique in that the longer they spend on the job, the more inadequate they are to carry it out. People in the role of college supervisors are often--if they have twenty years on the job-- twenty years away from regular, continuing contact with kids in classrooms. Rather than continuing to spend a lot of money trundling these people around to do perfunctory kinds of observations and assessments, it would make much more sense to utilize the people on the home grounds and spend the energies of full-time college faculty in inservice education efforts with those personnel out there.

# Twenty-Three Reasons Universities Can't Educate Teachers[1]

by

Martin Haberman*

Whatever is wrong with teacher education is wrong with higher education. With active student "help," colleges and universities have been exposed as unable to meet a double-barrelled challenge: relevance for individual students and action against societal problems. Most critics of teacher education naively fail to recognize that any critisism of teacher education can be strengthened and amplified to include the higher education that functions as its parent and protector.

If this contention seems a bit strong, it merely indicates that the clutching bear hug in which universities hold teacher education has dulled our senses. After a century of struggle to become respectable, teacher educators need critically to reexamine what we gave up in return for membership in the university club. Those of us who still claim we care about educating youth need to look around at the university setting and ask our nearest colleague, "What's a nice girl (guy) like you doing in a place like this?"

If we continue to act on unexamined assumptions, fantasy will continue to serve as program rationale. Our elaborate institutional coping mechanism (the university) helps us to make believe we are engaged in reasonable behavior directed at socially useful ends. Such delusions are not all evil; they sustain us in a complex world of powerful forces. I fully recognize the psychological and professional threat of asking some of our colleagues to reconsider the honor of our parents; there will be some, however, with the courage honestly to reconsider what we're participating in, and a few who may persist until we march off the plantation.

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Following are twenty-three assumptions--there are undoubtedly many more--we unthinkingly accept in the process of perpetuating the delusion that teachers can be educated for the real world in colleges and universities. Three kinds of positive change can result from discussing these assumptions openly: we might try to change a few of the university conditions that mitigate against teacher education; we might support rather than crush organizations outside the university that seek to prepare teaching personnel; we might revel in our irrelevance and seek to become change agents who educate teachers for the best of all nonexistent worlds--and how to get there.

1. College-lower school cooperation is possible. Slow-witted, lumbering elephants circle each other for a century only to discover they are both males and incapable even of friendship. Reports, books, and demonstration projects on how we can cooperate have not affected any reality. One simple example of this organizational gap is that lower schools (justifiably) seek instructional services from student teachers while colleges build programs which (justifiably) seek to exploit these situations as vehicles for student teachers' growth.

There are no budgetary, personnel, or other resources built into either institution that depend on cooperation; quite the contrary, the more either institution "cooperates," the more it costs and detracts from its own major purposes.

2. Personnel in schools and colleges can work together. As if working in mutually exclusive organizations and being reinforced by different reward systems were not enough, personality and value differences are quite common. Public school people regard college people as too theoretical and more concerned with analysis than solutions, not capable of working within legal structures, incapable of hard work during regularly scheduled business hours. College people perceive public school people as too conservative in accepting research or responding to great social problems; fearful of superiors; of lower intelligence, status, and education. Public school people evaluate themselves positively for improving present systems and achieving present goals more effectively. College people evaluate themselves positively for advocating basic structural changes in lower schools. In truth, both groups are experts in maintaining their own organizations and espousing radical reforms in the other.

3. Academic disciplines are related to lower school curriculum. More and more institutions have exchanged electives for requirements. Free choice, however, does not work magic on irrelevant fare. Biology I is not intended as preparation for helping four-year-olds to press leaves any more than ten elective courses in literature are meant as preparation for encountering nonliterate but sophisticated ghetto swingers.

In order to put knowledge into the more integrated forms in which it is used in lower schools (and in life), universities have for decades tried to institutionalize interdisciplinary studies. These efforts break down for several reasons: team teaching does not meet the individualistic needs or the role concept of college faculty, more planning time is required than when teaching alone, graduate schools require advanced work in single disciplines as prerequisites, students and faculty have been conditioned to regard survey and interdisciplinary work as superficial.

The Office of Education and private foundations have spent tens of millions building heavy arts and science components into teacher education on the assumption that established disciplines can make themselves relevant (and upgrade) lower school curricula. But the simple truth is that sound elementary and secondary education is rooted in problems of living and in expanding personal consciousness while the higher education is carefully derived from clearly delimited fields of study. This gap is not a sinister plot but the inevitable result of the historical differences between common schools and universities. Nevertheless, the dilemma for teacher education is real enough. A new teacher observing a group of youngsters who have just built the Alamo and are killing each other all over it asks: "Is this history geography, or creative dramatics?" To which the experienced teacher responds "What the hell difference does it make?"

4. Professional knowledge can be acted on in lower schools. Schools are organized for widespread public support and cannot afford the luxury of specific objectives. A riding academy, driving school, or farm for fat ladies can implement skills of teaching, a particular learning theory, and a standard program. Schools, on the other hand, try to be all things to all people to justify collecting everyone's taxes. Exceptions, such as Montessori, are not exceptions since they include their own teacher training--a training that could not occur in large public universities.

In order for schools of education to implement professional knowledge, we would first have to abandon the myth that all can be admitted, all prepared in one smorgasbord, and all certified as good for all the boys and girls everywhere. Since there are multiple theories of learning, teaching, and curriculum, we would have to specify objectives, sub-group and educate teachers for service in significantly different schools, e.g., as behavior modifiers, value clarifiers, existentialists, etc. The likelihood that schools of education will specify parallel programs is as wishful as the expectation that lower schools will do so. In the absence of such specificity, we shall continue to pretend there is a universal professional theory undergirding our programs.

5. Students who select themselves for teaching are open to change. Whether an individual is just picking up a certificate or avoiding the draft

is irrelevant since initial motivation does not in itself preclude anyone from learning to teach. The real problem is that large numbers of students self-select on the basis of their own previous schooling experiences, and as a result, have built-in, almost irreversible, rigidities. The assumption that teacher education students eagerly anticipate working in schools that are dramatic departures from those they attended cannot be supported by any data, while high positive correlations do exist between having a vocational orientation and a fit-in mentality.

6. Late adolescents are in the most appropriate developmental stage for learning to teach. Learners' growth and development are of critical concern to educators up through high school graduation. Following a ten-week summer, adolescents are transformed into mature men and women. Our acceptance of this instant metamorphosis is supported by our flimsy literature on college teaching and by the absence of descriptive materials regarding the nature of the late adolescent learner.

Professional teachers are capable of nurturing, eliciting, caring, supporting, empathizing, and deemphasizing their own needs in the process of enhancing others. Late adolescent Americans, if normal, are egocentric, self-indulgent, uncertain, and in need of massive doses of approval, self-confidence, and support. There is probably no worse stage of life in which to prepare for teaching than late adolescence. This widespread mismatch is only possible by defining teenagers as "college men and women" and by giving colleges the monopoly franchise over teacher education.

7. College faculty are capable of relating theory to practice. Most college faculty perform in a neverland that falls between sound theory and competent practice. Neither composers nor performers, we are Lawrence Welks in academe. The rare scholar with a unifying theory of learning or curriculum can be written off as "impractical" while the effective practitioner is inevitably "poorly grounded" (i.e., he lacks an advanced degree). Most education faculty have a few generalizations that we pass off as theoretic principles, and a few illustrations that we pass off as practical expertise.

8. College instruction can be a modelling process of the way students should teach in the lower schools. Such shop-worn abnegation should cease. Following are just a few of the reasons why parallelism in methodologies can be only the exception rather than the rule.

> With the use of paraprofessionals and volunteers, schools are decreasing in pupil-teacher ratios while colleges seek to increase ratios for financial reasons.

A basic assumption of compulsory schooling is that teachers are responsible for finding better methods; the basic assumption of the faculty is that better students should have been admitted.

Schoolteachers assume motivation to the part of instruction; professors assume this to be the students' responsibility.

Schools are all-day care with homework extra; colleges are organized for minimal class time and much out-of-class study.

School buildings are designed for maximum physical control over pupils; colleges, for architectural concerns and faculty convenience.

School culture indoctrinates pupils to value teachers who are helpful; college conditions students to respect experts.

Schools are measured by pupil achievement; universities, by research activity and size.

And most critical of all, lower education is more concrete and couched in personal activity and experience; higher education is more abstract and supported quite well by reading, writing, formal experimentation, and discussion.

9. The college environment supports a reward system that facilitates teacher education. The real criteria of academe are too well-known to need lengthy rehearsal here. In order, they are: research, writing, consulting, teaching graduate seminars, teaching classes, administration, and working with students in field experiences. (Unfortunately, this last is what teacher education is all about.) The less one is available to students, the less time spent on campus or in the field, the more one is rewarded.

10. Colleges are accountable for their graduates' performance. Colleges and universities sell courses: no register, no tuition; no tuition, no faculty; no faculty, no follow-up. In those rare instances when we do follow up (special grants, an extension course, a master's course for former undergraduates who happen to teach nearby), we get off the accountability hook with, How can we educate effective, creative, socially conscious teachers when the schools they work in are oppressive?

The NCATE guideline for follow-up can't be met by any of the more than two thousand institutions that prepare teachers.

11. Colleges can change and improve themselves and schools through research, demonstration, creative proposals, and dissemination programs. Laboratory schools have not been the only casualties of this assumption; government agencies and private foundations have placed universities in the role of "mover and shaker" only to end up in the same place at greater cost. After much time and money, there isn't a single example of school change which university faculty have researched and advocated that is now accepted practice. Although many of us study and advocate decentralization, vouchers, open classrooms, alternatives to schooling, etc.; even the less pervasive changes we have espoused (nongraded grouping, individualized instruction, differentiated staffing, etc.) have had little effect on the lower education. Any status survey will reveal that the proverbial third grade in Peoria grinds on pretty much as it did in 1910.

Our record for self-change is even more dismal. After decades of massive aid for innovation, which university has been significantly changed? What critics said of the total university in 1940 they could repeat in 1970, and ditto for teacher education. But this "and ditto for teacher education" is a much different assumption from that made by our most infamous critics, who assume the rest of academe as a yardstick for teacher education.

12. College leadership--particularly in schools of education--is concerned and involved with problems of the lower schools. After three years, my dean met the local school superintendent for the first time. In other cities they meet even less frequently--and what does it matter anyway? Deans are evaluated on five criteria: how they handle student disturbances; faculty work, scandal, and morale; the amount of outside research money they can generate; growth, as measured by irrelevant quantitative factors; the introduction of small, flashy innovation projects that take the heat off evaluating traditional programs.

With the exception of Dean Corrigan at the University of Vermont, any education dean who honestly took the position that his evaluation and budget should be based on the impact of his college on the lower schools and community would put himself and his school out of business. The interest of noneducation deans in lower schools is limited almost entirely to funding opportunities and to the fact that many of them have adolescents in the nearby high school.

13. The public sees and expects a cooperative relationship between colleges and lower schools. Relationships are conceived in individual, not organizational, terms; that is, What will John and Mary need to get into Siwash State? not, What organizational connections can be made? That the university faculty would never dream of meeting with a local high school faculty in order to seek curriculum connections is, in part, a function of the

fact that lower schools are local and higher education is statewide, regional, and national. But more fundamental is the assumption that the relationship is all one way--up. The high school that has large numbers who "succeed" in college is all the public expects.

For teacher education, the tacit expectation of the public is that schools of education will prepare students to be successful teachers in present forms of schooling. They would be shocked if they knew the real level of noncooperation and the increasing number of faculty and school people who question the desirability of working together.

14. Colleges influence teacher's future performance more than the situations in which graduates subsequently operate. Teachers fit in, fight, or flee. They are not instruments of change that introduce great new ideas from college into the lower schools. Nothing we offer future teachers--whether skills, values, or theory--can withstand what they learn on the job as practitioners. If preservice preparation should prove more powerful than the situational press, the teacher would probably be fired. If, on the other hand, there were complete harmony between preparation and practice, then the preservice would be an overexpensive waste, since teachers learn more and faster on the job. In one sense, the large number of certified graduates who never teach, quit, or fail are an indication of school of education programs trumping poor work experiences.

15. Lower schools can change by educating individual teachers. Teacher education is based on an individual entrepreneur model. If Susie Smith improves her ability to teach reading and then works anywhere she chooses, great social problems can be ameliorated. Teacher education is organized to protect the right of individual arrangements, when we know that educational (any important social) change is the result of organized group action. We wasted a decade trying to equalize schooling by appealing to individuals. NDEA Institutes, master's programs, sabbaticals, etc., like all historical efforts to improve teacher education, are based on the monumental idiocy that each Susie Smith will, in the process of pursuing her own best interests, make a contribution that will cumulate into important social change.

16. Colleges can relate to community groups and schools. The recent growth of community schools, particularly black urban schools, has once again revealed the bureaupathology of our university organization. We sell courses; even extension services cannot be made relevant to the needs perceived by the urban community. We lack the minority faculty members with the credibility, the knowhow, the will, and the organization to help communities with their goals. Any grant, federal or otherwise, to a community school will flush up a stray faculty member, but even this is exploitation of the community for university visibility or funds (or an individual

instructor's visibility or merit) more than genuine involvement. Tokenism works both ways. Our way is to make certain that one or two faculty members are in drug education or teaching community organization at a downtown church on Wednesday nights.

17. Colleges can work with professional organizations. Which college makes student teacher and intern placements through its local teachers association? Where are association representatives involved in evaluating and revising teacher education programs? Which college offers in-service education and research under the auspices of the local teachers association? Which colleges are engaged in helping associations gain a share in the power to recommend for state certification?

18. College programs represent and offer the best of what is now known about teacher education. It is a rare treat to meet school of education faculty (or any others) who are conversant with the literature in teacher education. Faculties are composed of specialists in learning, reading, administration, etc. There are few who read and research the values and limitations of various new programs in teacher education. Fortunately, such ignorance in no way interferes with our willingness to discuss, vote, and exert exclusive control over programs. The growing literature on the effects of field experiences, group change strategies, and processes for learning and instruction are a well-kept secret between the particular researcher, his funding agent, and the librarian who ultimately catalogues his work.

19. College programs of teacher education can be evaluated, changed, and improved. (Even our critics assume this.) Although accreditation teams usually make a few useful suggestions, their level of change is watered down by dealing with it on a literal rather than a spiritual basis. For example, the criticism that "education majors are unknown to your faculty" is met by demonstrating that "we now have folders on all of them on file in the associate dean's office."

Self-evaluations are usually hopeless opinionnaires which demonstrate that our particular course received "very favorable" student reactions. In truth, changes in higher education are not planned; they are most frequently the result of chance or unpredicted events. A girl is arrested for a topless dance in Madison; the regents overreact by cutting funds; the chancellor makes immediate cuts by attacking nontenure faculty and drops eighty sections of English I. The result of this linkage is that hundreds of freshmen who would have been dropped from the university for failing English I remain in school and eventually enter the school of education. Such bizarre events, and not faculty committees, can account for much real change in academe.

20. Colleges can upgrade in-service teaching personnel. In a recent seminar with childhood education experts, we discussed Piaget, Bruner, and the implications of Skinner. That night, I was up until 3:00 A.M. with three of the best (by consensus) teachers of kindergarten in Milwaukee. They discussed chair throwing, starvation, love on the run, and the process of human caring between fits and starts of bedlam. The issue is not the simple-minded charge that we can't relate theory to practice but that disciplined academic knowledge, is by its very nature, not capable of transfer. In addition and more critically (if that's possible), we faculty have created an ethic of "shoulds" so that few, if any, practitioners dare admit the nature of what they actually do.

21. Colleges can evaluate each other. They do, but on organizational rather than content criteria. A review of AACTE bulletins, as well as attendance at their meetings, will reveal that this association of school of education deans is concerned with the enhancement of an oligarchy. Their latest publication Crises in Teacher Education: A Dynamic Response to AACTE's Future (1971, 17 pp.) "raises some questions." This vacuous rehash demonstrates again the naivete of those who advocate self-evaluation as a vehicle for important change.

22. Approved programs of certification should be confined to colleges and universities. Sound teacher education is based on an interrelationship between field work and conceptual activities. Although schools control the former and colleges the latter, the locus of program control is vested in the college. Students who do poorly can be switched to other schools; universities that are dropped can find school systems that will "cooperate." Since the lower schools exert no control over approved programs or the specific individuals to be certified, no rhetoric can describe this situation as a partnership.

In the future, lower schools in need of fewer teachers will be less submissive to university exploitation than they have been in the past. Approved programs should not be limited to institutions of higher education; community groups, schools, and private enterprise should be permitted to compete with programs that have state approval. The assumption that college faculty have a corner on relevant expertise is not supportable by data. The unreflective commitment to the university setting as the place for teacher education has more evidence to the contrary.

23. Colleges can respond to great social problems by becoming directly involved in action programs. Up to two years ago, militancy was a valid strategy for awakening a higher education that seemed responsive to only Rickoverish needs. We are now in a period, signaled by the Madison bombing, when it is wisdom to protect the university in its search for truth--

free from the surges of the mob. Universities can study, demonstrate, even disseminate, but they cannot assume the direct administration and aegis over do-good organizations and still keep public support. With this reaffirmed direction, the fact that schools of education are locked into universities is of ultimate significance.

In sum:

Present forms of schooling not only don't solve critical social problems, they cause and contribute to them.

More responsive educational processes demand radical changes in present forms of schooling.

Universities cannot be directly involved in radically changing any social institutions--and particularly not at this time.

As an integral part of the university structure, schools of education and their teacher education programs cannot support dramatic changes in lower schools or in themselves--regardless of social need, professional ethics, or the deans' rhetoric.

These twenty-three assumptions are merely illustrative of the basic issue. What is the potential of a teacher education ensconced in the university?

# VIII. SUMMARY STATEMENT

Paul A. Olson

## VIII. Summary Statement

Paul A. Olson

PAUL OLSON: Let me summarize again to check out if I have heard what has been said. First, in the statistical area, we have said that in gathering statistics we have to look at the power relationships which determine how the education of teachers is developed; we need to assess the needs of American cultural communities from new perspectives--and we have to look at those needs not simply in terms of how an individual is trained, but in group terms: what target groups assert about what education should be in their community and how teachers ought to operate.

Second, the strategy of the study committee should be noncompensatory; the notion should be that we have a fundamental responsibility to educate those who are putatively responsible for educational structures, not a fundamental responsibility to give compensatory education to outsider's cultural groups. Our job is to address ourselves to ourselves, to legislatures, to boards of education, and so forth.

Third, we ought to push for and develop respect for cultural pluralism. Behind that, we should put forth some effort to reach toward a sense of what constitutes the common humanity underlying our pluralisms. The education of teachers should render them capable of moving from one cultural frame to another, in at least some area; they should be able to imagine themselves into some other person's, some other culture's view, in at least one area and probably in several areas: language, gesture, myth system, or whatever.

Fourth, we ought to think about the possibility of abolishing the credentialling systems. More specifically, the formats for the education of teachers should be diverse; the formats for certifying and hiring teachers should be diverse; one of the functions of the study committee is to work out what the division of power ought to be between higher education, the local school, the credentialling agency, and the local parent group, the local school parent group (not the Board of Education) in determining who is to be a teacher and who is not to be a teacher in a local school. The whole question of what constitutes a meaningful credentialling agency we left open.

A fifth question was that of access. We have to have a diversity of formats for training teachers to assure access to the teaching profession to all kinds of people who might become teachers, were there a variety of formats. We want this diversity of formats also to assure maximum self-realization to all kinds of communities, so that they can exercise some kind of control to influence the kind of teachers which are chosen to serve their children.

The authority of the teacher is something that we were not able to specify with precision; it depends very much on the context, the conception of the role of the teacher in the specific community. Higher Education training sets minimal levels of functioning: it weeds out some potentially dangerous people, some bad people, some ignorant people. It is essentially a negative process. Perhaps one of the functions of the Study Commission would be to define positive processes.

Finally we have a fundamental responsibility to develop a management system which will create the opportunity to relate schools, Schools of Education and Schools of Arts and Sciences in ways which will not permit a division of responsibility between schools and higher education, so that academic freedom can be respected, so that people who learn possible diverse ways of acting as teachers or as change agents in the classrooms can have the opportunity to practice those skills in the classrooms. We have to develop a management system which will protect academic freedom, the flow of innovation and the responsiveness to parents, in clinical schools. This management system would somehow take into consideration higher education, the schools, and parent groups. Within Higher Education, one of the functions of the study commission ought to be looking at is structure and management: the extent to which structures created by a historical exigency can be reformed or the processes within the structure reformed. I think there is some degree of disagreement a s to whether the older structures need to be reshaped or simply the processes within the structure: as to how one creates teaching-learning communities.